



RELANGUAGING LANGUAGE

in English(ing) Classrooms in Khayelitsha,
South Africa

by

Lara-Stephanie Krause

KRSLAR004

Thesis presented for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

School of Languages and Literatures

African Languages Section

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

15th August 2019

Supervisors:

Dr Tessa Dowling, African Languages Section

School of Languages and Literatures, *University of Cape Town*

Prof Dr Rose Marie Beck, Institute of African Studies

Department of History, Arts and Oriental Studies, *University of Leipzig*

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

DECLARATION

I, *Lara-Stephanie Krause*, hereby declare that the work on which this dissertation is based is my original work (except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise) and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other university.

I empower the university to reproduce for the purpose of research either the whole or any portion of the contents in any manner whatsoever.

Signature:

| |
|---------------------|
| Signed by candidate |
|---------------------|

Date: 15.08.2019

~~~

*For the teachers and learners in Khayelitsha  
who have shown me how to language*

~~~

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------------|
| ABSTRACT | I |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | III |
| 1. Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 The tension between languaging and languageS | 1 |
| 1.2 The languaging of the township | 3 |
| 1.3 The languageS of schooling | 5 |
| 1.4 The testing via languageS | 8 |
| 1.5 The English of township teachers | 11 |
| 1.6 The ethnographies of township classrooms | 14 |
| 1.7 The experiment of this thesis | 17 |
| 1.8 The chapters of this book | 21 |
| 2. Relanguaging language towards an alternative perspective | 23 |
| 2.1 Seeing language like a (colonial) state | 23 |
| 2.1.1 <i>Teasing out languageS from languaging</i> | 23 |
| 2.1.2 <i>Conflating linguistic features and languageS</i> | 26 |
| 2.2 Unsettling linguistic objects | 27 |
| 2.2.1 <i>From languageS to verbal repertoires</i> | 27 |
| 2.2.2 <i>Code-switching</i> | 32 |
| 2.2.3 <i>Translanguaging</i> | 35 |
| 2.3 Languaging our way from individual to spatial repertoires | 41 |
| 2.3.1 <i>Languaging as a spatial practice</i> | 41 |
| 2.3.2 <i>From kitchen to classroom repertoires</i> | 45 |
| 2.3.3 <i>Classroom languaging and classroom englishing</i> | 48 |
| 2.4 Relanguaging in two directions | 49 |
| 2.4.1 <i>Relanguaging as 'sorting out'</i> | 49 |
| 2.4.2 <i>Relanguaging as 'bringing together'</i> | 51 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 2.4.3 The relanguaging circle | 52 |
| 3. A linguistic ethnography for seeing more | 54 |
| 3.1 Previewing the methodology | 54 |
| 3.2 Setting the scene..... | 58 |
| 3.2.1 The school..... | 58 |
| 3.2.2 An ongoing story of accessing the field..... | 59 |
| 3.2.3 Learning to language in Khayelitsha | 61 |
| 3.3 The participants..... | 62 |
| 3.3.1 Purposive sampling | 62 |
| 3.3.2 The Grade 4 teacher..... | 63 |
| 3.3.3 The Grade 5 teacher..... | 64 |
| 3.3.4 The Grade 6 and 7 teacher..... | 65 |
| 3.4 Data collection | 66 |
| 3.4.1 Audio recording in the classroom | 66 |
| 3.4.2 Semi-structured stimulated recall interviews | 68 |
| 3.4.3 A writing task..... | 71 |
| 3.5 Analytical strategies | 72 |
| 3.5.1 Noticing teachers' relanguaging and my own statist vision | 72 |
| 3.5.2 Taking the practice ING seriously..... | 74 |
| 3.5.3 Tying ethnography down with Bantu linguistics | 75 |
| 3.5.4 Conversation analysis and the spatial lens | 77 |
| 3.5.5 Opening linguistics up by following features and asking teachers | 79 |
| 3.6 Possibilities, limitations and choices | 81 |
| 3.6.1 Focus and relevance..... | 81 |
| 3.6.2 What was (not) possible | 82 |
| 4. An eagle learning to fly and an analyst learning to see | 83 |
| 4.1 Before the story begins | 83 |
| 4.1.1 'Going along' with the story | 83 |
| 4.1.2 How to relanguage a story and what to expect in this chapter..... | 84 |
| 4.1.3 Learners who seldom go to the malls..... | 88 |
| 4.2 Looking for interesting birds and interesting linguistic features | 90 |
| 4.2.1 Animals unsettling languageS | 90 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 4.2.2 Tracing the interesting ‘-ing’ | 94 |
| 4.2.3 Finding -fuya in Khayelitsha | 97 |
| 4.2.4 Accessing Standard English ‘any’ way | 99 |
| 4.3 Seeing morphemes guide the change into a chicken..... | 101 |
| 4.3.1 It was going to sound like a poem | 101 |
| 4.3.2 ‘se-’, ‘-ile’, sequences and causes..... | 103 |
| 4.3.3 ‘ma-’, connection and authority..... | 105 |
| 4.3.4. Making visible morphological affordances and a didactics of explicitness..... | 108 |
| 4.3.5 What ‘ayiselulo’ can do that ‘no longer’ cannot do | 110 |
| 4.3.6 Affordances of noun class agreement in tracking the eagle..... | 113 |
| 4.3.7 Becoming a chicken with ‘se-’ and ‘-yi-’ | 116 |
| 4.3.8 ‘Because’ and ‘why’ we have to disentangle words from languageS..... | 118 |
| 4.4 Relanguaging ‘train’ while training the eagle..... | 121 |
| 4.4.1 It’s like when you preach in church | 121 |
| 4.4.2 Tracing ‘train’ through townships | 125 |
| 4.4.3 ‘They just put them together’ | 127 |
| 4.4.4 Summarising the story and sorting out Khayelitshan resources..... | 131 |
| 4.5 What the story and the spatial lens teaches us | 133 |
| 4.5.1 Of clumsiness and verbiness..... | 133 |
| 4.5.2 Of grace and confidence..... | 139 |
| 4.5.3 Of eagles, human beings and Tarzan | 142 |
| 4.5.4 To some it will appear as a question..... | 147 |
| 4.5.5 ‘Change’ between a language and languaging..... | 150 |
| 4.5.6 Stopping to see like a state | 152 |
| 4.6 Chapter discussion | 154 |
| 5. Complexities around using and testing in Khayelitsha..... | 159 |
| 5.1 Before beginning to use and to test | 159 |
| 5.1.1 Moving into different relanguaging scenarios | 159 |
| 5.1.2 They are new to English and can’t read..... | 161 |
| 5.1.3 Reading and relanguaging a story in Grade 4..... | 164 |
| 5.2 What can we do?..... | 167 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 5.2.1 Relanguaging the instruction | 167 |
| 5.2.2 Tracing u through other English classrooms | 171 |
| 5.2.3 Tracing u through teacher interviews | 174 |
| 5.2.4 Avoiding potential pitfalls with u | 175 |
| 5.2.5 From uangry to ucross by aligning other features with u..... | 177 |
| 5.2.6 Sorting out 'u-' and choosing 'yakhe' over 'it'..... | 178 |
| 5.2.7 Towards a digestible but resistant instruction | 181 |
| 5.3 Assessment relanguaged to make the system work | 183 |
| 5.3.1 The department is after you..... | 183 |
| 5.3.2 Oliver Twist and a complexified relanguaging circle | 188 |
| 5.3.3 From no work to work and from a trans- to a re- perspective..... | 191 |
| 5.3.4 Making Oliver hungrier via noun class agreement..... | 194 |
| 5.3.5 Opening language up and bringing Oliver Twist to Khayelitsha | 197 |
| 5.3.6 Approaching the questions through relanguaging as test coaching | 202 |
| 5.3.7 Reading a question in a way that is similar to the answer..... | 207 |
| 5.4 Chapter discussion | 211 |
| 5.4.1 Looking closely at u and Likho..... | 211 |
| 5.4.2 Relanguaging and (test) writing..... | 212 |
| 5.4.3 Subverting the system to keep it working | 214 |
| 6. Rewriting languageS | 216 |
| 6.1 The idea for a writing task | 216 |
| 6.1.1 OK: Code-switching..... | 216 |
| 6.1.2 A writing space at Khayelitsha Primary | 220 |
| 6.1.3 A relanguaging researcher..... | 225 |
| 6.2 Seeing writing differently: From deficit to potential | 230 |
| 6.2.1 Emergent englishing..... | 230 |
| 6.2.2 Learning rewriting from learners..... | 232 |
| 6.2.3 Lack or oversupply of standard linguistic norms? | 236 |
| 6.2.4 Learners sorting out Standard English pronouns | 240 |
| 6.2.5 Dis- and reassembling morphology | 246 |
| 6.2.6 Swiming or swimming? Deficit or potential? | 248 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 6.3 Chapter discussion | 249 |
| 7 Conclusion – So what? | 253 |
| 7.1 Seeing more..... | 253 |
| 7.2 Seeing like a township teacher | 256 |
| 7.3 Blind spots blocking educational change | 259 |
| 7.4 Recommendations | 262 |
| 7.5 Outlook..... | 267 |
| REFERENCES..... | 270 |
| APPENDICES | 284 |
| Appendix A: Glossing conventions | 284 |
| Appendix B: Noun class agreement morphology (positive and negative)..... | 285 |
| Appendix C: Lists of lesson transcripts and interviews | 287 |
| Appendix D: Table of relanguaging circles | 289 |
| Appendix E: Excerpt from Formal Assessment Task Grade5 | 290 |

ABSTRACT

Institutional language teaching is built on the assumption that languages exist as homogeneous entities and is aimed at the mastery of standardised codes. In this view, English teaching in South African township schools is failing. Learners (and teachers) underperform in standardised English tests and are repeatedly described – by stakeholders in schooling and by scholars of language in education – as ‘cut off’ from standard linguistic norms needed for success beyond the township. But is linguistic deficit all we can find in township English classrooms, given that the day-to-day language practices in these settings are known to be heterogeneous, flexible and creative? I begin here by taking this local linguistic heterogeneity seriously, asking: What does language education in Khayelitsha look like through a lens that *is not* a priori structured by separate, homogenised languages?

In the first part of this thesis I develop such an analytical lens. I begin by committing *not to use* some key linguistic terms that imply a view of languages as discrete, homogeneous entities. I then engage with (trans)linguaging literature and the inchoative sociolinguistic notion of ‘spatial repertoires’, conceptualising ‘linguaging’ for my purposes as a spatial practice, with which speakers draw on and transform elements of spatial repertoires. This spatial perspective doesn’t allow for surface-level categorisation of linguistic phenomena. It demands instead fine-grained, situated analyses that I conduct with tools from Bantu linguistics, conversation analysis and ethnography, on data from participant observation, recorded classroom talk, a learners’ writing task and teacher interviews. Rather than training the spotlight on the alleged lack of Standard English, I show the Khayelitshan English classroom to be a space of specific linguistic possibilities, ordered by teachers through a linguistic sorting practice I call *relinguaging*.

This practice instantiates teachers’ negotiations of Khayelitshan heterogeneous linguistic realities, and the demands of a centralised curriculum and testing system, in the classroom. Learners are also shown to be ‘relinguagers’, who display complex linguistic sorting processes in their writing, juggling what I find to be an oversupply rather than an undersupply of standard linguistic norms. My empirical findings and my conceptualisation of relinguaging, which develops and complexifies throughout

this thesis, allow me to systematically unsettle a construction of linguistic hetero- and homogeneity as mutually exclusive. This comes with a theoretical critique of ‘translanguaging’ as a linguistic descriptor that, in my view, reifies a dichotomy between fluid languaging and fixed standard languages. As a result, it makes us overlook the relationality in practice regarding these two dimensions of language and the complexities that result therefrom. With the dichotomy between languaging and languages dissolved, I end by proposing ways of testing for Standard English beyond its own confines, i.e. to test for increasingly sophisticated linguistic sorting skills instantiated in emergent englishing.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Mama und Papa, mit eurem Mut habt ihr ein Zuhause gebaut, das Freiheit möglich gemacht hat. Für mich unter anderem die Freiheit, meinem Herzensinteresse nachzugehen – oder wohl eher nachzufliegen. Das Wissen darum, dass euer Stolz und eure Unterstützung mir zu jedem Zeitpunkt sicher waren, hat mich immer wieder beruhigt, stabilisiert und ermutigt. Alle Krisen in den letzten fünf Jahren waren wegen euch ertragbar und alle Risiken eingehbar. Ich weiß wir machen gerne Witze, aber das hier ist mein Ernst. Ihr habt mir immer vertraut und immer hinter mir gestanden. Hier ist jetzt das Resultat. Ein Buch. Mein Buch. Aber auch euer Buch. Danke.

Meine Lieblingsmenschen, die letzten Monate hätte ich ohne euch nicht ausgehalten. Danke für die Päckchen, die Nachrichten, die Unterstützung. Aber allem voran: Danke für die Stille – die Stille ohne vorwurfsvollen Unterton und das Hintenanstellen von euren eigenen Problemen, weil ihr wusstet, worum es bei mir gerade ging. Ich bin zurück und es kann wieder lauter werden. Ich freu mich auf euch.

Tessa Dowling, ndiphelelwe ngamagama. I can't even tell you how much you have reshaped me throughout the years. You have given me the confidence to pursue my own project without ever trying to make me walk down well-trodden paths. You have taken risks. You have rethought things with me and in the process you have consistently shown me what it means to be academically rigorous and original at the same time. On top of that, no matter how much there was to do and how complicated it seemed, you always made me laugh with some of the best jokes I have ever heard in my life. You are the multi-faceted character that I needed as a role-model throughout this thesis and that I will need continuously (#justsaying #andiyindawo). The hours you spent with me in your red-walled office, dissecting the tiniest pieces of language and discussing the biggest theoretical assumptions that surround them, are the pillars on which this whole project now stands. Usisiseko salo ncwadi. It would be non-existent ngaphandle kwakho. I would have given up without you. Ndiyabulela.

Rose Marie Beck, since I have entered the world of academic writing and field research you have never left my side. From my Bachelor's via my Master's and now to my PhD thesis I have always had the privilege of calling you my supervisor. You have encouraged me to go out into the unknown – whether that unknown was a text so difficult that it would take me years to understand it, or a school in a South African township that I did not know the first thing about. You have made me aim high. You have made me think harder and into ever new directions. You have taken away my fear of contradictions and complexity and have made me scrutinise that which seemed straightforward and simple. No matter how stokelig a thought, you were there to help me rethink it until it became something of substance – or maybe until I began to 'see' the substance. I don't know how you do that but it never ceases to amaze me. Ich danke dir and I'm looking forward to thinking and 'seeing more' with you in the future.

Mastin Prinsloo, there is a question that you never got tired of asking me: "Why is that interesting?" ("So what?" for short ...) It forced me to think about the importance of relevance. It reminded me of the actual work of Khayelitshan teachers and the actual lives of school children that can sometimes seem so far away when one gets stuck in thinking about 'language', 'repertoires' and 'relinguaging'. But as much as you always pulled me back into South African realities you also pushed me out into the world. It is because of you that I know how to share serious work in front of serious audiences without taking myself too seriously (but seriously enough) – nah mean? To know what I am striving for I have to just watch how you do things. Enkosi for being my mentor and my friend.

Evi, you really built me the perfect circle. Without your patience and your unexpected graphic design skills I would have had to write about a 'relinguaging egg'. But not only that. Your careful reading, your zooming-in into every sentence, your thoughtful commentary and every discussion we had throughout the years is inscribed in this book. Meine Schwester. Genial. Danke.

Michel, "Where there is fear there is also an opportunity for pride," you said. I am proud of this book now. Thank you for being there when I was scared. Mein Bruder. Einzigartig. Danke.

Afrika, enkosi ngokundixhasa ungadinwa. You've been my companion through all of this. You've heard the things I couldn't hear. Your encouragement was (and is) powerful. Undincedile umhlobo wam. Serias.

Amanda, ubulapha nam. Ubungummelwane wam, useyitshomi yam. My Xhosa queen. Ngaphandle kwakho ngendingakwazanga ukunyamezela uhambo lwam nesiXhosa. Enkosi.

Susi, your being-there, your enthusiasm, your questions, your insights, your counting-the-days, und die Börne zwischendurch – it mattered. Thanks.

To the teachers at Khayelitsha Primary

Ekugqibeleni, phambi kokungena kule ncwadi, ndifuna ukuthi **enkosi kootitshala baseKhayelitsha**. Enkosi ngokundivulela iingcango zeeclassrooms zenu nangokukwabelana ngolwazi lwenu. I have never seen abantu abakhathalela ikamva labantwana ngendlela nina nilikhathalela ngayo. Ndikubonile ukufundisa kwenu – ndiyazi le nto yokuba nina you are changing things for the better.

Ngentlonipho

Chwayita

Englished version:

*Finally, before entering into this book, I want to say thank you to **the teachers in Khayelitsha**. Thank you for opening the doors of your classrooms for me and for sharing your knowledge. I have never seen people who care about the children's future in the way you care about it. I have seen your teaching – I know that you are changing things for the better.*

Respectfully

Chwayita

~~~

Author: *So do you think there is almost like a specific Xhosa  
– or language – that evolves in the township? In  
the...elokishini?*

Teacher: *Yah but it's mixed with ilanguage yamaColoured,  
amaXhosa and the White.*

~~~

1. Introduction

1.1 The tension between languaging and languageS

This thesis begins with the decision to take seriously what the teacher in the opening quote says and how she says it. The linguistic form of her response, and the categories she reverts to when describing the ‘language of the township’ to me, expose two dimensions of language. It is in the field of tension marked by these dimensions that this work is situated.

On the one hand, with regard to linguistic form, we can detect the dimension of ‘languaging’.¹ The teacher and I practice here what I refer to more specifically as ‘Khayelitshan languaging’ – the routinised but not officially codified heterogeneous language practices of residents of the township Khayelitsha (Cape Town, South Africa) and of those who know how to language² there. The teacher refers to these language practices as ‘mixed’, while I describe them instead as heterogeneous – as

¹ I will use ‘languaging’ for now as a generic term for language practices. Detailed considerations about how I will later use it as part of my analytical vocabulary will follow in chapter 2.

² The verb ‘to language’ will be used throughout this thesis interchangeably with ‘to use language’.

assembled from elements with various different histories, like *almost*, *elokishini*, *i-*, *language* or *ama-*, all instantiated in this short exchange. I speak of ‘Khayelitshan languaging’ because, as Canagarajah notes, “situating communicative interactions in space and time accommodates diversity and unpredictability” (2018, p. 33).³

On the other hand, in the way the teacher describes this heterogeneous languaging to me, we find another dimension of language that “tends to favor homogeneity, normativity, and control” (Canagarajah, 2018, p. 33). She says that the language of the township is ‘mixed with ilanguage yamaColoured, amaXhosa and the White’ (*mixed with the language of the Coloured people, [that] of the Xhosa people and [that] of the White people*). This is the dimension of languageS⁴ that presupposes language as dividable into separate entities and as associable with population groups. In this case ‘Afrikaans’ would be the language of amaColoured, ‘Xhosa’ that of amaXhosa and ‘English’ that of Whites.⁵

Scott’s memorable phrase “seeing like a state” (Scott, 1998) helps to understand languageS as products of, and simultaneously conditions for, a vision of the social world as structured into simplified, homogeneous units that render the practices of the population legible, measurable and manipulable for state administrations and their agents. This statist⁶ vision has become the normalised view of language, as we can see in the opening quote. The teacher describes Khayelitshan languaging as ‘mixed’ in relation to languageS. Languaging would then emerge from the manipulation of languageS. Accordingly, we can perceive linguistic heterogeneity, because linguistically homogeneous units exist. From this perspective, homogeneity is the norm and heterogeneity the surprise. In this work I am interested in what becomes visible if we systematically turn the tables around by ‘seeing’ languaging as normal

³ The citation style I am using throughout this thesis is APA American Psychological Association, 6th edition.

⁴ The ‘-s’ in ‘languageS’ will be capitalised throughout this work as a reminder that the idea that they exist as separate entities is the product of a particular ideology. This is not to deny the social significance of languageS but to unsettle the assumption that they can per default serve as analytical categories in linguistics – a point I will flesh out in chapter 2.

⁵ As the opening quote shows, terms like ‘Coloured’ and ‘White’ reflect local language use with reference to South Africa’s different population groups. I use such terms in this thesis without racist intention. ‘Black’ is used for persons of African descent, ‘Coloured’ for persons of KhoiSan or Cape Malay descent or mixed race, and ‘White’ indicates European descent.

⁶ ‘statist’ is used throughout this thesis as an adjective derived from ‘the state’. ‘Statist’ expresses a concern with simplification, homogenisation and categorisation for purposes of promoting administrative legibility and control of the population.

and languageS as surprising. I want to show that if we start from linguistic heterogeneity we can uncover previously hidden dynamics in the field of tension between languaging and languageS that have the potential to change the ways in which we conceptualise language in state education and, more specifically, language in language education.

The Khayelitshan English classroom, where Khayelitshan languaging and languageS like Standard English and (sometimes) Standard Xhosa meet, is the space that allows me to develop, explore and experiment with this alternative perspective. How I go about that will become clear throughout the rest of this introduction, which also serves to situate the project at hand in the context of South African education.

1.2 The languaging of the township

The heterogeneity displayed in the linguistic form of the teacher's response in the opening quote is typical for Cape Town's urban working-class settlements (Banda, 2018; Deumert, 2013; Dowling, 2011; Mesthrie & Hurst, 2013). Khayelitsha, where this study is set, is the biggest of these townships, located approximately 30 km outside of the city. The population is documented in the 2011 census to be around 400 000 inhabitants (Frith, n.d.) but common estimates reach up to two million residents, because Khayelitsha's vast informal conglomerates of shacks make the population very difficult to count. While most Khayelitshan residents share a denotational norm and a common sentiment for speaking the same language (Silverstein, 2014, p. 4), namely Xhosa, people's languaging often differs significantly from the codified version of that language, as the opening quote has shown. The complex migratory dynamics that characterise Cape Town's townships partly explain the heterogeneity of language practices in these settings.

Due to its close remoteness to the city centre and the possibilities it offers for low-cost informal housing, Khayelitsha sees a constant influx of migrants from the rural Eastern Cape (Jacobs, 2014). Those migrants mostly self-identify as Xhosa speakers and contribute their particular linguistic resources, shaped by often rural life trajectories, to the languaging of the township. On the other hand, many Khayelitshan residents regularly commute to Cape Town to workplaces dominated by English (Banda, 2018;

Dowling, 2011). These commuters, together with Khayelitshan youth who are often schooled in former Coloured or White areas (further discussed in [1.5](#)), hold the township in suspense between linguistic connection to, and separation from, city spaces with linguistic profiles where English or Afrikaans dominate. In Khayelitshan schools themselves, since the foundation of the township in 1983, English has been the dominant Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT) after the initial years of primary school (discussed more in [1.3](#)) and children therefore begin to handle Standard English resources in teaching and testing material quite early on.

All of these dynamics combine with English TV and radio shows and communication technologies like social media applications on smart phones, making available a multiplicity of language resources for take-up in the area (Banda, 2018; Deumert, 2010; Kreutzer, 2009; Velghe, 2014). Khayelitsha is therefore a space where particular intersecting patterns of people's mobilities and language practices (Higgins, 2017) produce what urban language scholars have described for example as "heteroglossic speech where rules and norms overlap traditional language boundaries" (Makalela, 2013, p. 112).⁷ Some sociolinguists speak, in the context of Western Cape communities like Khayelitsha, of a 'language shift' towards English (Anthonissen, 2009), but Banda counters that "bits-and-pieces or entire chunks of African languages are not entirely lost as they are dispersed and dispensed in various combinations with English (and Afrikaans) across space and time" (2018, p. 6). This description of the linguistic situation is reminiscent of the opening quote from the Grade 4 teacher in this study and aligns well with what I refer to as Khayelitshan languaging throughout this work.

This heterogeneous languaging *in the Khayelitshan way* is prevalent in the geo-semiotic landscape of Cape Town's and other South African city's townships – on signage, billboards and the walls of barber shops and restaurants – as well as in TV soaps and radio shows in South Africa (Dowling, 2010; Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009). These language practices are also increasingly being exploited by private advertising firms in their campaigns. Here, i languaging has its own aesthetics and currency

⁷ These language practices are designated by their speakers with various names like 'Tsotsitaal' or 'Iscamto' and scholars have analysed urban language practices under such labels as well – in South Africa (Mesthrie & Hurst, 2013; Deumert, 2013) and in other African urban settings (Beck, 2010; Kießling & Mous, 2004).

(Dowling & Grier, 2015). In its heterogeneity and fluidity it provides advertisers with a “malleable semantic code” (Dowling & Grier, 2015, p. 18) to create up-to-date adverts with which they reach out to a growing urban population by taking its language practices seriously.

While this aesthetics of heterogeneity and fluidity is appealing to scholars of urban language practices as well as to radio stations and private advertising companies in South Africa, it does not appeal to state administrations, as a look at the South African census of 2011 shows. Here, a different aesthetic rules – one of clean-cut, homogeneous categories. In the linguistic profile of Khayelitsha we find a list of named languageS associated with the percentage of Khayelitshan residents that are said to speak them. It says that Xhosa is spoken by 90,54%, English by 3.22%, Sesotho by 1,36%, Afrikaans by 1,06%, and so on (Frith, n.d.). In the administrative logic that underlies this census, languageS exist as separate entities and are ordering categories assignable to individuals, population groups and, in turn, territories. In this statist view, most people in Khayelitsha speak Xhosa and therefore the township is bureaucratically constructed as a Xhosa area. The same logic underlies the South African education system with its language policies and curriculum.

1.3 The languageS of schooling

The logic displayed in the census is clearly thwarted by the actual heterogeneity of Khayelitshan languaging. Nevertheless, the categorisations with which state administrations work do not consider it, because taking heterogeneity seriously would pose “an impediment to administrative uniformity” (Scott, 1998, p. 25). Advertisers can open their vision for heterogeneous languaging, since it is in their commercial interest. Centralised education systems, however, are “state projects of legibility and simplification” (Scott, 1998, p. 9) that aim at making the performance of learners and teachers measurable and comparable across the state’s territory and beyond. Such schemes require a radical reduction of the complexity of local practices into separable, standardised and measurable units.

Units of central importance in this statist project of education are standardised languageS. Here, a standard language functions “as the “neutral” (!) top-and-centre

variety of denotational code usage” (Silverstein, 2010, p. 354) that becomes a vehicle to roll out education systems via in themselves standardised curricula and standardised tests (Prinsloo & Krause, 2019a). LanguageS are also the codes through which knowledge acquired in schools has to be presented so that it is legible and measurable for educational administrators who ‘see like a state’ (Scott, 1998). The vision of officials in institutionally regulated spaces like schooling is fundamentally structured by homogenised languageS, and education systems globally are to date hard to imagine without standard (mostly national) languageS.

What makes the South African situation unique in this regard is that here, eleven such standardised national languageS are involved in structuring the administrative space of education.⁸ In their dividedness, these languageS are arguably colonial constructs that reflect contemporary sociolinguistic realities poorly. But they did serve European Christianising missions and later the divide-and-rule tactics of the colonial and the apartheid state – other state projects of simplification and legibility, as I will explain further in [2.1.1](#). Whether related to people’s languaging or not, being administratively entangled with individuals, population groups and territories, these eleven languageS are relevant ordering principles of South African education, as becomes visible in school language policies.

In line with the widespread conviction that children learn best through their ‘mother-tongue’ (Alexander, 2009; Brock-Utne, Desai, & Qorro, 2003), in areas where a dominant ‘African language’ can be identified – e.g. in Black townships like Khayelitsha in greater Cape Town and in most rural areas – schools normally use this language as the Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT) in the Foundation Phase⁹ (from Grade R to Grade 3) in primary schools. In accordance with what can be simplified as the ‘monolingual nation state ideal’ (further discussed in [2.1.1](#)), in Grade 4 the LoLT then changes to English in most schools (Ouane & Glanz, 2011).

For the school in my study, Khayelitsha Primary, this early-transition language policy model means that in the Foundation Phase learners acquire their initial literacy skills in Standard Written Xhosa (SWX) and the curriculum material for all other subjects –

⁸ Admittedly these languageS have different purchase in the structuring of that space as their ethnic and regional connotations are different.

⁹ Primary schooling in South Africa is split up into three phases: Foundation Phase (Grade R (preschool grade) – Grade 3), Intermediate Phase (Grade 4 – Grade 6) and Senior Phase (Grade 7).

except for English – is in SWX. Certain characteristics are shared by Standard Xhosa and Khayelitshan languaging, for example noun class agreement morphology that is described under the Bantu linguistics paradigm in an extensive noun class system (Nurse & Philippson, 2003). We saw this agreement at work for example in the opening quote with ‘ilanguage yamaColoured’ (*the language of the Coloured*), where the noun class prefix ‘i-’ (class 9) produces agreement for the possessive construction through ‘y-’ (see [Appendix B](#) for a noun class table). Noun class agreement will be discussed in more detail in the data analysis. For now it is important that, while this morphology is certainly a more stable part of Khayelitshan languaging, overall the 19th century standardised version of Xhosa (Brereton Mathiesen, 2000) differs significantly from the heterogeneous day-to-day language practices shared by learners and teachers (see also Banda, 2018). Nevertheless, Standard Xhosa is the set of linguistic resources that they have to orient towards and via which their performance is measured in the Foundation Phase. It is therefore an important ordering principle and a social reality in these schooling spaces and therefore has to be taken seriously in analyses.

Standard English,¹⁰ the next LoLT learners are then confronted with, shares less linguistically with Khayelitshan languaging than Standard Xhosa but is clearly the dominant language in South African education and the economy. It has been shown to index ethnic neutrality, upward social mobility and success beyond the township (Blommaert, Muylleert, Huysmans, & Dyers, 2005) and scholars find that access to this code significantly increases chances on the job market (Casale & Posel, 2011). Standard English is a high-prestige set of linguistic resources that most children at township primary schools, and often their teachers as well, are socially and spatially distant from and rarely exposed to outside of classrooms. Still, Standard English becomes the major linguistic ordering principle in Khayelitshan classrooms after Grade 3 and again learners and teachers have to orient towards it, having their performance measured through it.

A picture emerges of, on the one hand, two administratively fixed, homogenised languageS (Standard Xhosa and Standard English) and, on the other hand, local, non-

¹⁰ In the South African context this code is often called ‘Standard South African English’ (SSAE). I am making general points about standardised languageS versus non-codified languagING in this thesis and therefore I will not focus on differentiating between different standardised versions of ‘a language’. Accordingly, I use ‘Standard English’ throughout.

codified, heterogeneous language practices (Khayelitshan languaging), that together form the linguistic space of Khayelitshan and many other township primary schools.¹¹ In other words, the two dimensions of language – heterogeneous languaging and homogenised languageS – that I described in [1.1](#) co-constitute Khayelitsha Primary linguistically. In the statist view, however, Khayelitshan languaging is invisible, while Standard Xhosa and Standard English are the same kinds of ordering regimes. Children who start school with a Khayelitshan languaging background have to learn Standard Xhosa first, some words of which are actually less familiar to them than the Standard English equivalents would be (Ditsele, 2014; Dowling, 2011; Krause & Prinsloo, 2016). Then, within their early schooling careers, they also have to acquire Standard English, while their familiar, flexible languaging skills remain unseen (Banda, 2009, 2018; Prinsloo & Krause, 2019b).

1.4 The testing via languageS

The Department of Education emphasises the importance of teaching English intensively as a subject in the early grades of primary school when the LoLT is an ‘African language’ (Western Cape Government, 2017). This way learners are supposed to get prepared for Grade 4 when they will have to read, write (exams) and learn via Standard English and no longer via Standard Xhosa. However, recent research suggests that the early-transition language policy model, which relies on two standard languageS combined with nationally standardised testing procedures (Systemic Evaluations), produces a situation where this preparatory English teaching is compromised and learners enter Grade 4 having barely even been introduced to the language. Systemic Evaluations in South Africa are regular assessments that are meant to monitor

whether learners are meeting national standards, especially in reading, listening, writing, numeracy and life skills at the Foundation Phase, and at key transitional stages in the learning ladder, namely Intermediate Phase and Senior Phase (Department of Education, 2003, p. 5).

¹¹ Classroom spaces, depending on the activity, can be structured by different linguistic constellations where for example only one of the standard languageS is a relevant ordering principle. I will explain this further in [chapter 2](#), where I elaborate on languaging as a spatial practice, as well as at the relevant points of my data analyses.

These major evaluations therefore first take place at the end of Grade 3 when, in Khayelitsha, the skills of “reading, listening, writing, numeracy and life skills” are assessed via Standard (Written) Xhosa in accordance with the early-transition language policy model. Preparing learners for these national tests, the results of which are going to reflect back on teachers’ performance as well, Foundation Phase teachers tend to focus on Standard Xhosa while the teaching of Standard English falls by the wayside. This is illustrated by a quote from a Foundation Phase teacher I interviewed for my MA research in 2014 – also at Khayelitsha Primary. She said: “We [Foundation Phase teachers] always stress Maths and Xhosa, then we are little in English” (Interview Teacher Khayelitsha Primary 2014).¹² In the same vein, the newly founded Bua-lit Collective¹³ in South Africa shares findings from a research project at a different Khayelitshan primary school where teaching was observed in Grade 3 classrooms in the run-up to the change to English as LoLT in Grade 4. This is simultaneously also the run-up to the Systemic Evaluations that focus on Xhosa. The authors write:

In the third term of Grade 3 we were not able to observe a single English First Additional Language (EFAL) lesson in the two Grade 3 classrooms over a period of four weeks. When questioned about this Grade 3 teachers explained that the systemic assessments were only testing isiXhosa at Grade 3 level and thus it was not a priority to teach EFAL (Bua-Lit Collective, 2018, p. 13).

It seems unlikely for learners under these circumstances to “reach a high level of competence in English by the end of Grade 3” (Department of Basic Education, 2011, p. 11). Yet, such competence is presupposed by the South African English First Additional Language (henceforth: EFAL) curriculum for the Intermediate Phase (Grade 4 to 6), the phase my research mostly focusses on.

At several points of the curriculum document it is emphasised that English teachers in the Intermediate Phase “will build on the foundations set in Grades R to 3” (Department of Basic Education, 2011, p. 14). Learners in Intermediate Phase classrooms are expected to “take more notice of words and grammatical structures they are already familiar with from the Foundation Phase” (Department of Basic Education,

¹² This particular quote is part of the unpublished data from my MA research project at Khayelitsha Primary that I will elaborate on in [3.2.2](#).

¹³ The Bua-lit Collective is a collective of language and literacy researchers, activists, educators and teacher educators committed to addressing the inequality reproduced in South African education system through sharing knowledge and resources on effective language and literacy teaching. [Click here for the Bua-lit website.](#)

2011, p. 17). English teachers in my study emphasise that learners lack these very foundations that are presupposed by the EFAL curriculum for the Intermediate Phase. For example, the Grade 5 teacher, when asked whether she finds the language required by the curriculum adequate or too difficult, says:

If from Grade R the teachers in the school will try by all means to speak English during in the English period then I wouldn't complain but because the teachers speak English, I mean Xhosa even during the English period. They code-switch a lot even when it is not necessary. [...] Because of that problem I think sometimes the words that they use are much too difficult for them. [...] I would prefer them, or the writers of the book or the department to give us a book with easier words (Interview Grade 5 Teacher).

While this teacher is referring to the way English is taught in Foundation Phase as being inadequate (I will return to the topic of 'code-switching' later), the aforementioned research suggests that it might in fact not be taught very often at all. This is directly connected to the pressure of being tested in one standard language (Standard Xhosa) while having to prepare to be taught through another (Standard English), keeping in mind that learners' and teachers' day-to-day languaging (Khayelitshan languaging) is not very close to neither of these two homogenised codes (Banda, 2018). In summary, it seems that the statist project of centralised testing – directed at making learners' performance measurable and comparable – combined with the two languageS of schooling under the early-transition policy model, produces local pressures that make learners lag far behind the demands of the EFAL curriculum when entering Grade 4.

So how do Intermediate Phase English teachers handle the books with the 'much too difficult words'? How do they teach the advanced English skills demanded by the curriculum to learners that are largely unfamiliar with the linguistic resources that same curriculum presupposes? These are some of the questions that drive my ethnographic inquiry into Khayelitshan English classrooms – the spaces that are designated to provide learners with access to Standard English as the code so highly valued and indeed so important for upward social mobility in South Africa. While there are plenty of studies that engage with the change of LoLT between Grade 3 and Grade 4 and the problem of learning all subjects through English while having limited access to that code (Chick, 1996; Probyn, 2001, 2015; Setati, Adler, Reed, & Bapoo, 2002), there is little ethnographic research that focusses specifically on language practices in English classrooms in township schools (exceptions are Banda, 2018;

Kapp, 2004). My research contributes to filling this gap from an angle that I will specify below. First, however, it is important to get an insight into the discourse around English (teaching) at township schools that is prevalent in South Africa.

1.5 The English of township teachers

If we listen to major stakeholders in South African education, like parents, school principals, departmental officials, the media and also to some scholars, we firstly do not hear anything about the above described language and testing situation that complicates English teaching in township primary schools. Secondly, we get the impression that Standard English is unattainable or altogether absent from township (English) classrooms, because teachers are said to lack the relevant language and teaching skills to provide access to this code.

For example, how Black South African parents distrust township teachers' English competencies is displayed in what Fataar (2009) has called 'displaced school-choice'. If finances allow, parents send their children to schools as far away from their home township as possible, in search for better educational resources in general and 'better English' in particular (Fataar, 2009; Maile, 2004; Ndimande, 2012). A parent interviewed by Ndimande summarises an English-related reason for this phenomenon:

The main thing we want is to have our children be able to speak English fluently. They get to learn English in formerly White-only schools. Here in township schools you find teachers who speak broken English (Parent interviewed in Ndimande, 2012, p. 536).

These 'formerly White-only schools' that the parent refers to are ex-model C schools. Model C schools received special government support before the end of apartheid in 1994 under certain conditions. For example, their student body had to be kept majority White and 'mother-tongue instruction' would have to be provided for English and Afrikaans speaking children (for a detailed discussion see Christie, 1995). Today these schools are open for all population groups but mostly charge fees and "remain the best resourced, highest achieving public schools in the country" (Christie & McKinney, 2017, p. 170). It follows, as Christie and McKinney note, that "'Model C' schools play an important hegemonic role in a narrative of progress. They are accorded the status of being the 'ideal type' post-apartheid school" (2017, p. 168) and are thereby discursively constructed as the opposite of rural and township schools, which are

depicted as the worst possible ones. For example, comparing ex-model C schools (which informally are still often referred to as ‘Model C schools’) and township schools and constructing the former as spaces of linguistic possibilities (i.e. of ‘proper’ English) and the latter as linguistic dead-ends (with ‘broken’ English) is common in public discourse but also in some scholarly work.

As a case in point, Krugel and Fourie use the standardised English Literacy Skills Assessment (ELSA)¹⁴ in a comparative study of the English literacy skills of teachers in township schools and teachers in ex-model C schools, to then correlate them with learners’ test results in the respective settings. They write:

The average grade profile of the participating teachers of the ex-model C schools is that of Grade 12+¹⁵ (English mother tongue users) that signifies that these teachers have a sound English literacy (2014, p. 224).

In contrast, they find that “the average grade profile of the participating teachers of the township schools is that of Grade 9,” which in turn indicates that “teachers lack the English proficiency that is necessary for effective teaching and do not have the knowledge and skills to support English language learning” (2014, p. 224). The authors then show a clear correlation between learners’ and teachers’ performance in the standardised tests and summarise that township teachers’ lack of English proficiency is reflected in the test results of their learners who perform significantly worse than their peers from ex-model C schools (Krugel & Fourie, 2014).

It has indeed become common-sense in South Africa that learners in rural and township schools perform much worse than their peers from more affluent ex-model C institutions that are mostly in the inner-city or in suburbia (Department of Education, 2017). In the media (Nkosi, 2016; van der Berg & Spaull, 2017), in some other scholarly work on township teaching (Nel & Müller, 2010) and on parents’ school choice in South Africa (Lombard, 2007; Maile, 2004; Msila, 2009), there is an implication that teachers are directly responsible for the often poor academic

¹⁴ “The English Language Skills Assessment (ELSA) Listening and Reading Tests measure general English language competence using work, home, social and travel settings; they test a person’s ability to understand and communicate in the real world. ELSA tests are available in both British English and American English to meet all client requirements, and cover all levels of English language ability from very low to very high on a single scale for each skill. ELSA Listening and Reading Tests provide the precision, speed and convenience of multiple-choice tests” (LCCI Examinations Board, n.d., p. 4).

¹⁵ The measurements are here scaled in grade levels. Grade 12+ then means English competencies that exceed those of a learner who mastered English in Grade 12.

performance of their learners. This is echoed by educational authorities, illustrated in a recent evaluation report from the Department of Education regarding the implementation of the CAPS¹⁶ curriculum finds that most Grade 2 teachers “do not possess the subject knowledge required to teach English or Mathematics” (Department of Education, 2017, p. 14). Similar results are presented for the Grade 10 teachers with an emphasis on their

poor writing ability in English [...] with the teachers achieving a mean score of 5.5 out of 10 on the simple descriptive writing task. These results suggest that fully half the Grade 10 English teachers tested are not competent to teach English (2017, p. 15).

In the conclusion of the same report it says that while South African schooling remains profoundly inequitable throughout various curriculum reforms, “this situation is not the fault of the curriculum, but the result of systemic non-curriculum causes” – one of these being “weak educator knowledge capacity” (Department of Education, 2017, p. 22).

This narrative of educational deficiency and the lack of English in poorly performing schools builds on comparing learners and teachers across different schooling contexts via standardised tests that rely on homogenised languages and produce numerically measurable results. This is in line with administrative procedures that make the performance of teacher and learner populations legible for educational administrators who ‘see like a state’. From this perspective, township learners and teachers are ‘stuck’ without access to Standard English and even without the capacity to improve the situation.

But what about perspectives that are not so much interested in categorisation and measurement but in the details of the linguistic dynamics at township schools? In-depth ethnographic studies have the potential of revealing complexities in these settings that lie outside the statist vision. Below, I discuss different perspectives that ethnographers have taken on South African township schooling, exemplified by two studies that in particular have motivated me to make my own contribution to this body of work.

¹⁶ The Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS), introduced in 2012, is the outcome of South Africa’s most recent curriculum reform. For a discussion of various such reforms in the country since the end of apartheid see for example Gumede and Biyase (2016).

1.6 The ethnographies of township classrooms

In a detailed and influential ethnographic study of language and literacy practices in a Cape Town township school, Blommaert et al. conclude that township teachers and learners lack access to standard linguistic norms and therefore remain stuck in the societal periphery. The authors analyse different types of learners' writing, where they find "*hetero-graphy*, the deployment of literacy techniques and instruments in ways that do not respond to institutional ortho-graphic norms" (Blommaert et al., 2005, p. 388, emphasis in original). In their writing on the blackboard and in research questionnaires teachers make similar 'errors' to those of learners in relation to Standard Written English (SWE) and teachers are also shown to often overlook many of the learners' spelling and grammar mistakes when marking tests.

Interviews show that, while teachers and learners aspire to an English that allows them translocal mobility and access to employment beyond the township, this English "is not the 'English' they articulate in their answers" (Blommaert et al., 2005, p. 397) and display in their writing. The authors argue that schooling in this township is a case of "peripheral normativity" (Blommaert et al., 2005) where teachers and learners are 'stuck' on a local scale¹⁷ level "where access to elite (hyper-normative, homogenised) literacy is severely restricted" (2005, p. 392). Language and literacy norms that count in spaces of aspiration – the socio-economic and political centres of power – are said not to reach learners and teachers in the township. Instead what happens, the authors conclude, is "the 'downscaling' of education, bringing it down to the level of the local or regional community" (Blommaert et al., 2005, p. 396). While the authors offer detailed insights into language dynamics in the township school, the conclusions drawn are reminiscent of those produced by standardised language and literacy tests: Township schools are sites of linguistic lack and deficit without much prospect for improvement.

While Blommaert et al.'s study mainly focusses on writing of learners and writing and marking practices of teachers, there are other studies that describe the oral practices in classroom discourse as incompatible with what will be expected of learners in English-speaking spaces beyond the township and with what is necessary to succeed in their

¹⁷ I am in this thesis not engaging closely with the theory of sociolinguistic scales. See Prinsloo and Krause (2019b) for a theoretical discussion based on data from this PhD project.

immediate schooling context. In one of the few studies that comment specifically on English teaching in a township secondary school, Kapp writes:

The discourse practices of the English classroom are incompatible with the need to use the language at cognitively demanding levels in other subjects, resulting in extensive code-switching and rote-learning in those classes (Kapp, 2004, p. 260).

Such rote-learning or “participation through rote-performance” (McKinney, Carrim, Marshall, & Layton, 2015, p. 116) is widely attested for township classrooms where the LoLT is far removed from learners’ and teachers’ out-of-school language practices. So is the ‘class-chorus’, where learners are trained to answer “questions relating to self-evident general knowledge issues” (Kapp, 2004, p. 253) or to produce “acceptable linguistic chunks” (McKinney et al., 2015, p. 116) in a chorus that responds to particular intonation cues or tag-questions from teachers (see also Beck, 2016; Chick, 1996). Township classrooms emerge from these accounts as cognitively undemanding spaces marked by linguistically and pedagogically deficient teaching practices.

A response to ethnographic accounts that emphasise the deficiencies of township classroom practices comes from Canagarajah (2015). Specifically responding to Blommaert et al.’s study he gives a different account of linguistic practices in a township school in Cape Town. He contests the notion of peripheral normativity and instead emphasises the ability of teachers and learners to “shuttle across scales and norms” (Canagarajah, 2015, p. 49), demonstrating that they are well aware of which linguistic resources are to be employed in which contexts and are by no means clueless about external norms. He argues that it is misleading to treat local norms as isolated from norms of other spaces and instead suggests a view in which “the local is permeated by diverse other ‘locals’” where “it is possible then for the local community to be not unaware of (and even not incompetent in) the indexical orders and literacy regimes of other places” (2015, pp. 35–36). His analysis of a learner’s essay shows this student approximating the norms of Standard Written English (SWE) as a homogenised repertoire. In their Facebook posts, on the other hand, learners are said to display heterogeneous literacy practices. Such varied writing in different schooling spaces shows their “ability to adjust production to suit different scales and audiences” (2015, p. 44) rather than their confinement to peripheral normativity, Canagarajah argues. He cautions us that “if we assume that township teachers and students are deficient and stuck in peripheral normativity, no amount of evidence will convince us

of their agency” (2015, p. 39). But what exactly constitutes the lens that produces these deficit accounts and how can we look beyond it?

While Canagarajah focusses mostly on the presence of standard linguistic norms, mentioning heterogeneous languaging but not focussing on it in detail, there are other studies that bring forth potential- rather than deficit-oriented accounts of township schooling by paying more attention to heterogeneous linguistic practices shared by learners and teachers (Banda, 2018; Guzula, 2018; Guzula, McKinney, & Tyler, 2016; Probyn, 2009, 2015). Probyn for example shows in her analyses of language practices in science classrooms in township and rural schools how teachers use code-switching as an efficient strategy to work towards learners’ understanding. She writes that

many teachers are able to utilise the linguistic resources of the classroom in a skilled and responsive way, to achieve a range of cognitive and affective teaching and learning goals (Probyn, 2009, p. 124).

Banda, in a study on translingual practices in a Khayelitshan secondary school English classroom, observes that

by using the extended linguistic repertoire, the learners and the teacher have come up with a new classroom discourse quite unlike one you would find in monolingual educational contexts (Banda, 2018, p. 214).

He argues that the inclusion of Xhosa, English and what he refers to as ‘hybrid language’ in classroom discourse doesn’t stand in opposition to the goal of acquiring English. To the contrary: This inclusiveness produces a space where “all learners participate in finding the solution to the task at hand, hence promoting collaborative learning” (Banda, 2018, p. 214).

Guzula et al. look at what they call “languaging-for-learning” in an after-school literacy club in Khayelitsha and a mathematics holiday program in the rural Eastern Cape. Here children are encouraged to engage in oral as well as written heterogeneous languaging which is shown to be “a practical and powerful way to draw on children’s sociocultural resources, facilitating language and literacy learning” (Guzula et al., 2016, p. 218). An interesting finding from this research is also that such practices unfold their potential better in the Khayelitshan literacy club – where the teachers or facilitators share the linguistic resources of the learners – than in the mathematics holiday program, where there is a “lack of shared resources” (2016, p. 223) between teachers and learners.

This sample of studies shows that two different perspectives on the language dynamics in township schools are possible and that each makes us ‘see’ different things: linguistic and pedagogical lack or potential. Engaging with these different perspectives has made me wonder how accounts of township schools as sites that trap teachers and learners in the periphery are productive in a quest to undermine existing structures of educational inequality in South Africa. Is not the emphasis on the marginality of these schools as unproductive as repeatedly blaming teachers for not speaking and teaching the English that educational officials expect of them? Township schools are the settings where the majority of South Africa’s urban youth is educated, yet the dominant view of them is one of lack and deficit in relation to the norms of the so-called ‘centre’, where a minority of the population is schooled. It seems that this deficit perspective has exhausted its explanatory potential. It also seems that studies which offer a different perspective are those which take linguistic heterogeneity seriously.

Could it therefore be that the dominant deficit-orientation with regard to township schooling is in part due to a reliance on a homogenising analytical lens that accepts languageS as the norm? This seems plausible, considering that urban language research focused on heterogeneity and fluidity sees creative and resourceful language practices in townships, while applied linguists and educationists, focused on the homogeneity of languageS, see a lack of standard linguistic norms and resources in township classrooms. I am interested in the field of tension between these two perspectives.

1.7 The experiment of this thesis

I commit in this thesis to taking linguistic heterogeneity but also the demand for homogenised languageS in schooling seriously. In fact, the space I chose for my research – first merely based upon the fact that few studies focus on township English teaching – unabashedly forced me into this commitment. Nowhere does the tension between linguistic hetero- and homogeneity become more pronounced than in classrooms where one marks the routinised language practices shared by learners and teachers (Khayelitshan languaging) and the other the very goal of teaching itself (Standard English). Such spaces are language classrooms in linguistically heterogeneous settings, in my case the English classrooms at Khayelitsha Primary.

Regardless of what particular languaging competencies exist in Khayelitsha, linguistic homogeneity that fits a statist category remains the goal and the judge of how teachers teach and what learners learn in English classrooms. For schools like Khayelitsha Primary the judgements this produces are clear: teachers speak ‘broken English’ and learners do not learn ‘proper English’. Both parties produce a lot of ‘errors’ – deviations from the standard – and learners do badly in standardised English tests. It seems that, through a homogenising, categorising lens, the only thing we can find here is linguistic deficit, a lack of Standard English. But what happens if I rigorously refuse to accept this lens? And how could that be done?

Makoni and Pennycook have asked: “What WOULD language education look like if we no longer posited the existence of separate languages?” (2007b, p. 36)

I ask in this thesis: What DOES language education in Khayelitsha look like through a lens that *is not* a priori structured by separate languageS?

My project here is therefore to find a lens that fulfils this requirement – the conceptual consequences of this step are discussed in chapter 2 – and then to apply it to language practices in Khayelitshan English classrooms. For me, a lens like this means that I aim at locating myself as an analyst on the languaging-side in relation to the languaging and languageS dimensions that both play a role in the English classrooms at Khayelitsha Primary. I then look out from that position – with a basic assumption of linguistic heterogeneity – at what linguistic dynamics are there to find. This is then the reversal of the statist view that assumes homogenised languageS as the norm and makes us see heterogeneity as the deviation. In my analyses and in writing this thesis, I therefore set out to take for granted the significance of linguistic heterogeneity while being open to finding the significance of homogenised languageS without positing the latter a priori. That is my ambition, because such a perspective could make us ‘see more’. Since if we start from heterogeneity then we may at points find homogeneity but if we start from homogeneity we are systematically excluding heterogeneity. Theoretically there can be no heterogeneity within homogeneity but there can be homogeneity within heterogeneity. While this might sound trivial, it is not once we realise how difficult it is to conceptualise a heterogeneity-lens – especially if it is

supposed to be applied to spaces of language teaching – because we are so used to linguistically seeing like a state.

The idea that languages exist as separate structures – what Sabino has called the “languages ideology” (Sabino, 2018) – is deeply anchored in descriptions and conceptualisations of language teaching, often coming from a research field that in its very name posits the countability of languages: Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Being a very productive field, SLA contributes a great deal to our understandings of the workings of language and its acquisition. However, in this project my interest lies somewhere else, namely in finding a different lens to look at language in language classrooms. Accordingly, I do not engage with literature from SLA in this thesis but I do question the categories that have been taken over from this field into linguistics in education and sociolinguistics, such as ‘first language’ (L1) and ‘second language’ (L2) or ‘errors’ and ‘mistakes’, which are at their core based on assumptions of linguistic homogeneity as the norm.

Based on my readings of (socio)linguistic literature that is critical of homogenised accounts of languages (Canagarajah, 2018; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Wei, 2014; Gumperz, 1965; Jørgensen, 2008; Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015) and that I will discuss in chapter 2, I am convinced that the ways in which we talk about language in our analyses, i.e. the descriptors we use and the discourses they produce, “limit our insights into human language” (Sabino, 2018, p. 114). So with a sense that we are overlooking something and the intention to generate new insights about Khayelitshan English classrooms that might unsettle the deficit-centred discourse that surrounds and constructs them, I begin the experiment that is this thesis by *relinguaging* – that means by sorting out and reinventing – my own analytical language.

I drop as many descriptors as possible that I see as entangled in the languages ideology. This ideology and its vocabulary is deeply entrenched in the statist perspective on language, because it is centrally concerned with “patterning that is economical and abstract – patterning whose primary purpose is to separate language from language, dialect from dialect, sociolect from sociolect” (Sabino, 2018, p. 9). My hope is that by refusing to describe language practices in such terms and by then being forced to describe them differently, I will be able to make those details of the language

practices in the Khayelitshan English classroom visible that are obscured by the statist vision, which is structured by languageS. It then remains to be seen throughout this thesis where those details might take us with regard to rethinking linguistic analyses but also with regard to reimagining South African language (in) education.

The list of terms I commit *not to use* will become longer as I discuss my conceptual background in chapter 2. However, I can already point to some descriptors that are rather obviously entangled in the languageS ideology and that the reader will therefore not encounter in this thesis (except in discussions of other scholars' work):

First language (L1) and second language (L2): These terms suggest two separate linguistic objects co-existing in the language classroom. This view cannot be maintained if we take seriously the heterogeneity and fluidity of Khayelitshan languaging described in [1.2](#).

Translation / to translate: This notion is also entangled in the languageS ideology, intimating the transportation of meaning from one homogeneous linguistic inventory to another. It is not a heterogenising process, because the languageS involved remain pure and the complexity is to be found in the transportation between them. The notion therefore assumes and reifies homogeneous linguistic entities.

Non-standard language: In my view, speakers either try to approximate the standard – which is always an idealised, homogenised linguistic object that is rarely actualised (further discussed in chapter 2) – or they do something else that has nothing to do with the standard and should therefore not be described as a negation of it or as a deviation from it, as the term 'non-standard' suggests.

Errors and mistakes: Descriptors like errors and mistakes indicate deviations from a norm that is positioned as 'correct' and this norm tends to be instantiated by a homogenised standard language. Accordingly, I have to refuse to use these categories in my analyses as well.

Readers will discover along the way how I deal with linguistic forms and practices that usually trigger the above terms. I cannot provide replacement descriptors at this stage, firstly because some of the categories these terms imply might become altogether irrelevant, and secondly, because detailed conceptual reflections and empirical

findings drawn from my ethnographic inquiry are necessary before I can argue for alternative ways of describing classroom language practices.

This experiment, which begins with turning down established analytical categories, is risky. It is not meant to negate the insights of scholars who did seminal work with the help of the descriptors I abandon in this study. I am indebted to them and will most certainly describe things they have long grappled with and discussed before me. Nevertheless, I have decided to take this leap, wondering whether there might still be more to discover.

I set out into writing this thesis not knowing what I would get to see. Which questions would come up along the way? Where would I get stuck? Would my refusal to accept certain categories silence me? Or rather: Would it make me go blind? Let's see.

1.8 The chapters of this book

In [chapter 2](#), I search for and craft concepts that allow me to put fine-grained linguistic details in their heterogeneity centre stage. I begin by discussing the tendency of classical linguists to 'see like a state', due to a default linking of linguistic features to larger abstract categories: named, neatly separated languageS. I then trace the gradual unsettling of this statist vision from ideas of verbal repertoires of speech communities and code-switching, via accounts of complex individual repertoires and translanguaging, to spatial repertoires and languaging as a spatial practice. Towards the end of the chapter I introduce *relinguaging* as a descriptor for a linguistic sorting practice that emerges in the language classroom where, so I argue, linguistic hetero- and homogeneity are folded into one another.

[Chapter 3](#) lays out my research methodology that comes together under the design of a linguistic ethnography. I describe my approach to data analysis, which is an assemblage of

- the ethnographer's inclination to pay attention to situated practices
- a (Bantu) linguist's eye concerned with linguistic detail and pattern-finding

- and a conversation analyst's perspective interested in how particular linguistic features display speakers' choices at particular points in interaction.

I then give some background on the research site, on myself as a researcher and on the participating teachers, before I describe how data was gathered in recorded classroom observation, stimulated recall interviews and a learners' writing task.

In [chapter 4](#) I take the reader through one English lesson, where the teacher mediates and then discusses an animal story with Grade 5 learners, from beginning to end. I demonstrate how the spatial lens that I am now attempting to apply, brings forth new questions that I direct at myself in my analyses and/or at the teachers in the interviews. This rather long chapter sets the tone for the rest of the thesis as it trains the spotlight on small pieces of language – often morphemes – which can tell us a lot about local particularities in Khayelitshan English classrooms but are simultaneously also entry points into theoretical questions about language. It is in this chapter that the reader will become familiar with how I use the concepts discussed in chapter 2 – like *relinguaging*, *classroom languaging* and *classroom englishing* – and with some of the more technical linguistic terminology necessary to understand languaging in this specific space.

In the first part of [chapter 5](#) the attention to minute linguistic detail intensifies as I follow one small morpheme ('u-'), starting in a Grade 4 classroom, from teacher to teacher and through different activities. Analysing the special affordances of this morpheme in Khayelitshan English classrooms then leads into discussions around how it co-constitutes a practice that subverts systemic prescriptions of monolingualism and simultaneously allows them to survive. How teachers' subversion of the rules of a centralised education system with standardised testing allows the administrative system to function in the first place becomes even clearer in the second part of the chapter. Here I report on the Grade 5 teacher's language practices in a lesson where a departmental test paper is written and describe how the testing activity is reshaped by the teacher to become manageable in the Khayelitshan classroom.

In [chapter 6](#), learners become the protagonists. After clarifying what constitutes the spatial repertoire of the English classroom as a writing space in contrast to oral

classroom activities, I analyse different linguistic aspects of heterogeneous writing practices, showing some of the challenges and potentials that come with learning to write at Khayelitsha Primary. I use learners' writing pieces as illustrations of how linguistic hetero- and homogeneity are not mutually exclusive but co-constitutive. While learning from learners, I reflect on some ideas about how Standard Written English (SWE) could be taught, and indeed also tested, via heterogeneous writing practices.

In the conclusion ([chapter 7](#)) I evaluate the experiment of this thesis. I discuss in how far the concepts and methodology that I applied have made me 'see more' in the data, compared to accounts that rely on currently established linguistic descriptors like 'translanguaging'. Based on that, I go on to draw conclusions about the type of linguistics that is needed in order to account for the complexities of languaging-and-space. I then turn to the implications of my findings for language teaching – and education more generally – in South Africa. I show how putting township schooling centre stage can provide input for a vision of South African education as a system that in turn puts linguistic heterogeneity at its centre without discarding languageS.

2. Relanguaging language towards an alternative perspective

2.1 Seeing language like a (colonial) state

2.1.1 *Teasing out languageS from languaging*

The conceptual considerations presented in this chapter are guided by the following question:

What can constitute an analytical lens for language practices in the Khayelitshan English classroom that *is not* a priori structured by languageS?

Asking such a question implies that analytical lenses in linguistics *are* usually a priori structured by languageS. I therefore first make the case that this is indeed so, by discussing continuing traditions in classical linguistics, before I move into concepts that grapple with heterogeneity and fluidity in language.

I discussed in [1.3](#) that languageS co-constitute a system of simplified categories that are the basis for – and reproduce – what Scott has called seeing like a state. In fact languageS themselves, as one set of “categories that we most take for granted and with which we now routinely apprehend the social world had their origin in state projects of standardisation and legibility” (Scott, 1998, p. 64). The discipline of classical linguistics “grew up”, as Silverstein puts it, within the order of the nation-state (2014, p. 23), with linguists serving simplification and legibility projects. The discipline builds on the teasing out of languageS from languaging through codifying and abstracting them into autonomous structures (Errington, 2008; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007a). Through standardisation, “the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects” (Milroy, 2001, p. 531), languageS become codified sets of combinatory rules (grammatical and syntactical), tied to a delimited group of lexical and morphological features (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, & Møller, 2011). Separable from each other, such homogenised packages of rules and features, codified in grammars and dictionaries, can be associated with population groups and territories and become ordering principles that help state administrators to ‘see’.

This resulting one-language-one-territory-one-culture grid, rooted in more than a century of European epistemology (Beck, 2018), became extremely useful in the European nation state’s imperial aspirations (Silverstein, 2014). The colonial expansion of Europe in Africa illustrates the role of languageS in this imperial endeavour. As a consequence of their own disciplinary and cultural background, European missionary linguists simplified, homogenised and mapped out the complex and flexible languaging they were faced with in a foreign terrain. Resulting descriptions of African languageS as grammar and lexicon produced linguistic objects in an idiom accessible via the European episteme. Regarding the descriptive terminology, the resulting languageS are linguistic inventions that were, however, relied upon by colonial administrations in their attempts to divide and rule, instruct and Christianise their colonial subjects (Beck, 2018; Errington, 2008; Harries, 1988; Makalela, 2016; Prinsloo & Krause, 2019b).

Harries shows for example how, in South Africa, “the delineation and codification of Tsonga as a written language was a product of nineteenth century European discourse rather than a reflection of local reality” (Harries, 1988, p. 26). Tsonga today is one of South Africa’s official languageS and so is Xhosa, for which Brereton Mathiesen

shows a similarly colonial history. It is in the 19th century evangelical mission where, as she notes,

we find beginnings of literacy in languages spoken in south-eastern Africa, and importantly, the systematisation and codification of what was to become standard Xhosa in terms of orthography, grammar and lexicography (2000, p. 82).

Some of the missionary linguists' works laying this groundwork for what was to become Standard Xhosa are Bennie (1826), Ayliff (1846) and Kropf (1915). Colonial missionary linguists have certainly created a body of knowledge that continues to be helpful in analysing patterns in language practices. For example, I still revert to Kropf's dictionary from 1915 at some points in this work. The language constructs they created, however, were also mapped onto populations as an effective means to help the colonial state – and later the Apartheid state – to 'see'. These linguists therefore also, as Errington put it, "made languages objects of knowledge, so that their speakers could be made subjects of power" (2008, p. 3).

The political system of Apartheid in South Africa, whose consequences the nation is continuously grappling with, is an extreme example of how divide-and-rule tactics can build on colonial linguists' sorting-out of complex ways of speaking into separate languageS. A strategic political entanglement of these linguistic objects with ethnicity was "used as a tool to separate and divide people, physically and socially (through geographic separation)" (Kapp, 2006, p. 30). Such colonial 'inventions' of languageS still play out in (South) African education today (Errington, 2008; Makalela, 2018; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007a). Prinsloo and Krause note that the post-apartheid South African government has "retained this earlier commitment to discrete languages and declared nine distinct 'African languages' to all be 'official languages'" (2019b, p. 6), alongside English and Afrikaans. The result, as pointed out in [1.2](#), is that a place like Khayelitsha, with high degrees of linguistic fluidity, is still administratively associated with one 'African language': Xhosa, and this has direct influence on language policies in schooling. With regard to language, South African education therefore reflects the logic of seeing like a state in two ways:

1. Reminiscent of the colonial (and Apartheid) state apparatus, distinct standardised 'African languageS' are ascribed to distinct population groups and territories within the country.

2. In line with one-nation-one-language ideologies, beyond the initial years of primary school these standard African languageS are abandoned in favor of another, supposedly ethnically neutral and national language, Standard English, through which all learners eventually have to make their performance legible for state administrations.

How this involvement of several standard languageS in school language policies creates specific (linguistic) complexities in township English classrooms has been mentioned in [1.4](#) and will continue to be relevant throughout this thesis. For now I turn to how the statist vision that relies on linguistic homogenisation is not only constitutive of language-in-education policies but also underlies the discipline of linguistics itself.

2.1.2 Conflating linguistic features and languageS

Silverstein alerts us that the seeing-in-languageS of state administrators is also the dominant analytical perspective in linguistic analyses. He argues that “the linguistics and sociolinguistics of the state, especially the modern nation-state, have also tended to see things like a state, or, let us say, in conformity to how the state sees” (Silverstein, 2014, p. 18). We can detect that linguists’ lenses are structured by languageS, because named languageS are not only accepted but in fact default units of analysis. Otheguy et al. point out that, until today, linguists conventionally do not claim to analyse linguistic features, like articles or forms of past tenses, in their own right. Instead, their works’ titles suggest that they write about “the French tenses and the Spanish articles” (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 289). They prefer to analyse morphemes as ‘morphemes of a language’ rather than as ‘morphemes’.

This practice displays a historically rooted conceptual conflation of linguistic features and languageS. Features – words and grammatical morphemes – are analysed as if they were in every situation associated with a standardised code or a describable bounded ‘variety’ of a language (Milroy, 1999). Codification in a corpus of the relevant language is therefore a sufficient condition to refer to a linguistic feature as ‘Standard English’ or ‘English’ in analyses. Accordingly, linguistic features are, per default and under all circumstances, linked to a codified language in linguistic analyses. This is whether or not the information that the features ‘belong’ to a certain named language adds anything to the analysis or not – the link is anyway always made, since we are so used to linguistically seeing like a state. This ordinariness of the notion of ‘language

belonging’ is also reflected in the idea of ownership that gets invoked whenever a linguistic feature regularly appears in a language that it is not officially associated with. We then speak about languageS ‘borrowing’ or ‘loaning’ words to each other, increasing the autonomy of these codes as bounded objects to a point where they and not their speakers are the central points of analytical reference and in fact become the central agents.

This conflation of linguistic features and languageS is a result of the languageS ideology and, so I argue, implicitly subscribes to one of the (colonial) state’s most central ordering principles described above: the teasing out of different languageS to then associate them with population groups and territories. Therefore, not only historically but even today, many linguists indeed tend to see “in conformity to how the state sees” (Silverstein, 2014, p. 18). This vision reproduces and stabilises not only languageS as linguistic objects, analysable in their own right, but it also strengthens them as the categories that state projects like education are based on, stabilising these projects in return. It is therefore a question of concern in how far linguists’ analyses of for example language in education can provide sometimes necessary correctives or alternatives to the status quo if their analytical apparatus is itself entangled in it.

Partly due to such concerns, throughout the last 60 years scholars of sociolinguistics have been increasingly problematising this statist, languageS-centred linguistics and there have been continuous efforts to gradually unsettle homogenised linguistic objects as the default units of analysis. Herein lie the origins of a languaging rather than a languageS perspective that is still in the making and to which I attend below. The idea is to find an alternative perspective to the statist view of language, which will later allow me to account for linguistic homogeneity as well as heterogeneity as constitutive elements of Khayelitshan English classrooms without systematically and a priori shutting out the latter.

2.2 Unsettling linguistic objects

2.2.1 *From languageS to verbal repertoires*

Rampton (2017) also refers to the statist vision described by Scott when illustrating how the standardisation of languageS has been one of the strategies of the modern state

to make its population legible. In this context, Rampton goes on to comment on Gumperz' work from the 1960ies on verbal repertoires and code-switching, which, as he suggests

can be read as a critical response to institutionalised models promoting the linguistic legibility of populations, as a reassertion of the importance of the “complex, illegible and local” (ibid) [Scott 1998], and as the development of an analytic apparatus for demonstrating the limitations of prevailing institutional ideologies of language, encouraging us to “listen in a new way” (cf McDermott 1988) (Rampton, 2017, p. 5).

For the purposes of this work I am particularly interested in the alternative ‘analytic apparatus’ that is here described as emerging from Gumperz' work. How did it develop and in how far can it help to balance out the dominance of a homogenising, statist lens in accounts of situated languaging?

A most significant contribution to – if not the cornerstone of – this new analytical apparatus, is the introduction of the term ‘verbal repertoire’ by Gumperz, who defined it as “the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction” (1964, p. 141). In focus are social interactions and the definition doesn't invoke the idea of languageS. Contrasting them with Gumperz' verbal repertoires, I define languageS in this thesis as ‘statist repertoires’, the totality of linguistic forms codified under ‘one language’ that exists in writing rather than in speech and that is abstractable from the realm of actual social interaction. Gumperz' verbal repertoires do not allow for this abstraction but urge us to investigate language in social interactions without jumping to separate languageS as convenient categories and default analytical reference points.

He argues that, instead of the grammars of languageS as structures supposedly located in the speakers' minds (Chomsky, 1965), it is the verbal repertoire shared in a speech community that “provides the weapons of everyday communication” (Gumperz, 1964, p. 138) for speakers to choose from. The speech community shares these weapons and is defined as “any human aggregate characterised by regular and frequent interaction over a significant span of time and set off from other such aggregates by differences in the frequency of interaction” (Gumperz, 1964, p. 137). In this view, the speech community is the unit of analysis – such a community has a repertoire that it practices and whose constituents need to be studied, because they are not synonymous with a statist repertoire (‘a language’).

The importance of studying linguistic features as constituents of practiced community repertoires, rather than as building blocks of predefined languageS, is illustrated in Gumperz (1965), where he draws on the example of a Hindi language course at the University of Berkeley. This course regularly left students with a thorough knowledge of ‘Hindi grammar’ but unable to communicate with the actual Indian communities they went to live in. This inability of students to communicate after extensive study of Hindi illustrates how grammarians – and in turn many second language teachers – ‘see like a state’ and associate stable languageS with distinct population groups. This means that students learn a statist repertoire that exists in writing but that has little grounding in how people actually speak in the communities that are associated with that ‘language’. This has real consequences for students learning these languageS and then travelling into these communities. Verbal repertoires then become a necessary alternative to languageS, if language practices are to be better understood and taught.

As suggested by Rampton (2017) in the beginning of this section, Gumperz’ work on verbal repertoires and the way it is being picked up by other scholars therefore implies a critique of the statist view of language. This critique was made quite explicit by Gumperz’ contemporary Hymes in his discussion of communicative competence, an idea closely related to verbal repertoires. In fact, verbal repertoires can be seen as the tool-kit to achieve communicative competence, which is the ability to have voice and make ones intentions understood in a community or the communities one lives in (Hymes 1972 as cited in Blommaert & Backus, 2013, p. 17). Accordingly, knowledge of a speech community’s verbal repertoire is essential for achieving communicative competence but the ability to have voice – i.e. “people’s ability to give an account of their lives” and have it listened to “in a practice of mutual recognition” (Couldry, 2009, p. 580)¹⁸ – also entails that one’s language practices are not stigmatised or devalued but count as competent ways of speaking. As noted in Beck (2015), voice is closely entangled with the ability to control a standardised national language. In the same vein Silverstein writes that

when even laypersons ask “What language(s) do you speak?” they mean what denotational code(s) – centrally, grammatically conforming words and

¹⁸ I am aware of the complex debate around the topic of voice, especially in subaltern theory (cf. Spivak). A detailed account is beyond the scope and focus of this thesis and I therefore chose a rather simple and pragmatic definition of the concept at this point.

expressions – for representing things and states-of-affairs in the world do you control (2014, p. 5).

It is then grammatically defined languageS – statist repertoires – that count as the measure for communicative competence and other practices are silenced. In extra-institutional contexts in spaces like Khayelitsha an ability for voice through heterogeneous language practices might well be there. The Grade 5 teacher in this study for example says in interview that she likes to sometimes use four languageS within one sentence and, asked if she feels languageS should be kept separate (also outside the classroom), she says:

No. No you can mix the languages. I don't know whether it's because I like to do so. But with me, I like to mix the languages. I like to learn more languages. I can speak Swati, I can speak Ndebele, Sotho, Xhosa, Zulu, English. I would like to learn Afrikaans as well. I do say some words in Afrikaans when I speak to my daughter at home, because she do Afrikaans at school [...]. I wouldn't say that people should separate the languages (Interview Grade 5 Teacher).

We might call hers a languagING ideology, reminiscent of the positive views on township languaging presented in [1.2](#). But in state institutions like schools, competent ways of speaking are not the heterogeneous practices the teacher describes but again those that fit into named language categories, in this study Standard English and Standard Xhosa. As it stands, in the institutional context of the English classroom in focus here, only Standard English can be valued (for example in formal assessment) and part of the deficit-centred discourse around township schools and teachers is that township teachers do not (and cannot) adhere to these monoglossic ideologies ([1.5](#)). This is reflected in parents complaining that

teachers here in the township like to translate everything into native languages, instead of using English only. You also find teachers here in the township 'mixing' (switching back and forth) languages. That is the reason we take our children to formerly White-only schools because they will learn proper English there (Parent interviewed in Ndimande, 2012, p. 536).

The principal at Khayelitsha Primary also suggests that teachers “like to teach English in Xhosa” (Interview Principal 2014)¹⁹ and to code-switch in class and that this is why learners struggle with English. The Western Cape Education Department joins in by urging teachers

¹⁹ Statements by the principal of Khayelitsha Primary that give insight into his languageS ideology are discussed more extensively in Krause (2014), Krause and Prinsloo (2016) and Dowling and Krause (2018).

to reduce the amount of code switching and code mixing in order to ensure maximum exposure to the LoLT as the language of assessment. In the case of a large number of schools in this province, this would refer to English (Western Cape Government, 2017).

Therefore, across stakeholders in South African education, township teachers' practices in (English) classrooms that are outside of homogenised Standard English are listened to not as competencies but as deficiencies, because they do not count as "grammatically conforming words and expressions" (Silverstein, 2014, p. 5). From the statist perspective that requires homogenised languageS, township teachers' (and learners') ability to have voice then becomes very limited and stigma prevails over recognition of linguistic competencies (see also McKinney et al., 2015). This situation is reflected in accounts of teachers feeling bad for, or at least being apologetic about, their heterogeneous language practices in classrooms (amongst others Probyn, 2009; Setati et al., 2002).

Hymes recognises the connection between the statist view of language and the conceptualisation of heterogeneous language practices as deficiencies rather than competencies. He writes that

we have to break with the tradition of thought which simply equates one language, one culture, and takes a set of functions for granted. In order to deal with the problems faced by disadvantaged children, and with education in much of the world, we have to begin with the conception of the speech habits, or competencies, of a community or population, and regard the place among them of the resources of historically-derived languages as an empirical question (Hymes, 1972, p. 288).

The 'disadvantaged children' he speaks about are reminiscent of the teachers and learners in Khayelitsha whose 'speech habits' do not conform to either of the Standard languageS valued in their education and whose competencies are therefore invisible and silenced (Beck, 2015; McKinney et al., 2015). Conceptualising their language practices in terms of competencies and questioning the role of 'historically-derived languages' in Khayelitshan classrooms is part of my agenda in this thesis. This means not to deny the reality of languageS as possible – and in some spaces relevant – orienting principles, but it means to seriously consider the possibility that languageS do not always, i.e. per default, play a role in language practices. The analysis of language practices in terms of verbal repertoires and not in terms of statist languageS is a major step towards making such a differentiation possible.

Theorisations of verbal repertoires and communicative competence also contributed to the increasing integration of those ‘speech habits’ into linguistic analyses that are reluctant to fit into separate language-boxes. Efforts in this direction have been undertaken most prominently with the help of the concept called ‘code-switching’. In code-switching accounts heterogeneous language practices begin to be taken seriously – yet in accordance with the statist view – in (socio)linguistic scholarship and until today the term remains a popular descriptor in much scholarly work. The field of code-switching research is vast and I will here give a brief overview, mostly referring to studies conducted in South Africa, because this context is most relevant to my research.

2.2.2 *Code-switching*²⁰

Scholars who have looked at heterogeneous languaging in education and beyond have done so mostly under the paradigm of code-switching (Ferguson, 2009; Gumperz, 1977; Myers-Scotton, 1997; Poplack, 1988; Slabbert & Finlayson, 2002). Code-switching studies achieved a great deal in promoting the inclusion of those language practices into linguistic analyses that do not fit statist linguistic boxes – by making use of these very boxes, as we will come to see.

After advancing his seminal work on verbal repertoires, Gumperz also worked on language practices that are characterised by conversational code-switching, which he defines as “the juxtaposition of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-systems, within the same exchange” (Gumperz, 1977, p. 1). From his study of such practices in different language constellations he develops a typology that includes six functions of code-switching in interactions: “quotations”, “addressee specification”, “interjection”, “repetition”, “message qualification” and “personalisation versus objectivisation” (Gumperz, 1977, pp. 14–18). The details of these functions are here not relevant but what is important is that heterogeneous language practices were seen as events associable with particular functions in the first place. This shows that they were perceived to be qualitatively different from other

²⁰ Variations of parts of this section have appeared in Dowling and Krause (2018), a co-authored paper that discusses data from this PhD project. I acknowledge and thank Tessa Dowling for her contribution.

speech events – unsurprisingly so, given the hitherto dominant statist view of languageS as homogeneous entities – and treated as per se interesting.

The analysis of reasons for and functions of language switches has continued and is still widespread in code-switching research. Reviewing studies of classroom code-switching, Lin notes that scholars are often on what she calls a “normalising mission” (2013, p. 207) in as far as they are concerned with showing that code-switching is a normal, functional linguistic practice. Many classroom studies “have the effect of uncovering the good sense or the local rationality (or functions) of code-switching in the classroom” (2013, p. 202). In the context of South African township classrooms Ferguson for example observed that one of the functions of code-switching is that it allows teachers to talk more meaningfully about texts, as it is prevalent

in teacher’s commentary on, and annotation of, the meanings of these texts. The purpose clearly is to mediate textual meanings for pupils who have limited control over the language of those texts (2003, p. 39).

Much of what I am concerned with in this study is also the analysis of teachers’ talk around written texts and indeed heterogeneous language practices play a significant role there. I am, however, reluctant to refer to such practices as code-switching, because the notion is entrenched in the statist view and forces the analyst to ‘see in accordance to how the state sees’. The underlying idea is one of separable languageS or codes – even though more than one of them may now be employed within the same stretch of talk. This is not to say that scholars of code-switching generally equate codes with languageS as defined by linguists. Some studies are very differentiated in this regard and emphasise that it depends on what speakers identify as a code to orient towards in speech and not what linguists define as such (Auer, 1999). Speaker orientation in defining what linguistic ordering principles might structure languaging is certainly important in my study as well and I here take inspiration from code-switching research.

Nevertheless, code-switching as a descriptor seems to – for example in the South African context in focus here – often produce accounts where languageS and not speakers occupy centre stage. This is most pronounced in studies that construct one language as being ‘in the grammatical lead’, providing the structure – or matrix – for the other language to be embedded in (Finlayson, Calteaux, & Myers-Scotton, 1998; Finlayson & Slabbert, 1997; Slabbert & Finlayson, 2002). Descriptions of code-

switching in lessons therefore also take as their point of departure the assumption that people move between two or more languageS, and that the grammars of these languageS actively constrain how speakers negotiate the linguistic traffic. For example Finlayson et al. (1998, pp. 395–404), analysing the language of a group of people in a South African township, conclude that only one language (in their study Zulu or Sotho), ‘provides the grammatical frame’ for the embedded language (English) to operate in, and that system morphemes, and their ordering, are directed by the language that provides the grammatical frame (the matrix language). While the matrix language theory has been critiqued (Auer & Muhamedova, 2005; MacSwan, 2005), even in these critiques the lens remains a statist one, reifying linguistic boxes with the fundamental assumption that languageS are always relevant for speakers and that they ‘switch’ between them.

In such studies the word ‘switch’ seems to suggest a danger of instability, sometimes intimating that this kind of languaging is off course and digressive, producing deficit-oriented accounts. For example, an explanation for code-switching practices in South African educational contexts is the suggestion that code-switching results from a “lack of proper or equivalent terminology” (Mabule, 2015, p. 346) in Bantu languageS. Numerous projects based on this suggestion have been established to develop technical terminology in these languageS (Finlayson & Madiba, 2002; Wildsmith-Cromarty, 2008, 2012). These very same projects, however, frequently discover that such made-up lexicons are often shunned by teachers and learners who use other language resources to discover technical meaning (Kadeghe, as cited in Brock-Utne et al., 2003; Madiba, 2014).

The existence and therefore allocation of funds to such initiatives in the first place points to a strong believe in the need for language resources to ‘belong’ to a particular named language in order to be functional resources in educational settings. In linguistic analyses that rely on code-switching as the main descriptor and that build the substructure for such projects, languageS and linguistic features remain conflated. Projects and interventions are then often not so much about whether a word is a functional resource for teaching science for example, but about whether the word is a ‘Xhosa’ or an ‘English’ resource for teaching science. The practical function of linguistic resources is overwritten by their normative function. This is possible because of the uninterrupted, continuously reified conflation of linguistic features and

languageS, which is a remnant of classical linguistic thought that ties us to linguistically seeing like a state.

Essentially therefore, code-switching tends to produce analyses that conform with the statist view of languageS and does not force analysts to take on a radical enough counter-perspective to it. It therefore has to join the list of linguistic descriptors that I *will not use* in my analyses, acknowledging, however, that this concept has broken plenty of new ground and made headway in putting heterogeneous language practices ‘on the radar’ of linguists. I now turn to the term that has been promoted in response to code-switching scholarship: translanguaging (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; García & Wei, 2014). The administrative logic, according to which languageS are teased out from ways of speaking, is intimated to not play a role – i.e. to be ‘transcended’ – in linguistic analyses that use the concept of translanguaging.

2.2.3 *Translanguaging*

Translanguaging is not the only term that attempts to move beyond code-switching accounts of heterogeneous language practices. Rather, as Canagarajah points out, “the theorisation of this practice [translanguaging] is going on in different disciplines under different labels” (2011, p. 2). Some of these other labels are metrolingualism (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015), polylingual languaging (Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen et al., 2011) and code-meshing (Michael-Luna & Canagarajah, 2007), to name a few. The body of work dealing with the issue is growing impressively fast and begins to be summarised under a new research paradigm: translanguaging. Canagarajah identifies some expanding research orientations under translanguaging. About the first one he writes:

Challenging traditional understandings of language relationships in multilingualism, which postulates languages maintaining their separate structures and identities even in contact, translanguaging looks at verbal resources as interacting synergistically to generate new grammars and meanings, beyond their separate structures. According to this definition, the prefix ‘trans’ indexes a way of looking at communicative practices as transcending autonomous languages (2018, p. 31).

From this perspective speakers draw on mobile, adaptable language resources and language is reconceptualised as a dynamic social practice (amongst others Canagarajah, 2018; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; García & Wei, 2014; Heller, 2007; Pennycook, 2010). The term that has gained the most ground in this

scholarly quest and from which the paradigm gets its name is translanguaging, most significantly promoted in García's work on language in education since 2009.

The term translanguaging was first introduced in the 1980s in Wales to promote the role of Welsh in education, contesting the historic suppression of the language as less prestigious than English in schooling. The term here stood for using English and Welsh additively in the classroom, for example in tasks where the input would be in one of the languageS and the learners' output in the other (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012; Williams, 1996). As Williams puts it:

Translanguaging means that you receive information through the medium of one language (e.g. English) and use it yourself through the medium of the other language (e.g. Welsh). Before you can use that information successfully, you must have fully understood it (Williams, 1996).

In this early usage, the *trans-* in translanguaging therefore can be seen as trying to transcend the strict assignment of only one language per classroom activity. The separate construction of languageS themselves when analysing language practices, however, was not questioned. LanguageS were clearly divided along input and output lines and seen as existing as L1 and L2 in the speakers' minds (Williams, 1996). Translanguaging was at this point a description – or prescription – of a didactic strategy not a descriptor for language practices in general. This changes when García picks up the term in the context of Spanish-English bilingual education in the United States.

García theorises translanguaging in a way that is designed to unsettle the separation of mental grammars into linguistic systems like L1 and L2 (García, 2009). When defining the practice of translanguaging in her early work on the topic she says that what bilinguals²¹ do when they translanguange is “to intermingle linguistic features that have hereto been administratively or linguistically assigned to a particular language or language variety” (García, 2009, p. 62). Here then, translanguaging is no longer exclusively reserved for certain didactic strategies but also becomes a linguistic descriptor for the ‘normal’ day-to-day language practices of bilinguals. It is explicitly intended to offer an alternative to the administrative – or statist – view of language by foregrounding the linguistic repertoires and practices of speakers instead of languageS.

²¹ The bi- in bilingualism in García's work is not intended to stand for a repertoire made up of resources associated with two languageS but bilingual speakers are those whose individual repertoire features resources associated with any number of named languageS (García, 2009).

A later linguistic definition of translanguaging is then “the deployment of a speaker’s full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages” (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 283). Here the practice is no longer associated with a particular type of speaker (bilingual). Rather, translanguaging can here be *any use of language that is not watchfully oriented towards ‘a language’* – even if it coincides with one. I will return to this definition at different points of this chapter, because it is very useful for the crafting of my own analytical concepts later on. It has to be noted already that what underlies translanguaging scholarship is mostly a conceptualisation of repertoires as being the property of individuals (further discussed in [2.3](#)), not of speech communities, as it was the case in Gumperz’ theorisations. Promoting a view of language that focusses on the linguistic resources at the disposal of individuals rather than on languageS, translanguaging has become a new tool for describing and analysing heterogeneous language practices.

What complicates the picture when it comes to studies that apply translanguaging in educational settings, however, is that the concept is not merely used as a descriptor for language practices that are not oriented towards languageS. As mentioned above, it is also used to describe concrete didactic strategies but also to summarise whole pedagogical approaches that are centrally concerned with treating the various languaging resources at the disposal of learners and teachers as affordances for teaching and learning rather than as disturbances (Celic & Seltzer, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Leiva, 2014; Makalela, 2018). This is reflected in the way García and Wei (2014) talk about translanguaging as

an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages (García & Wei, 2014, p. 2).

In this context, translanguaging does then turn from a descriptive to a potentially prescriptive concept that outlines how the education of bilinguals should be approached. Translanguaging is fast becoming a term with various meanings (see also Jaspers & Madsen, 2019 for a discussion). It is used as a linguistic descriptor for

linguaging that is ‘unwatchful’ to languageS, but also as a term for concrete didactic²² strategies and for whole pedagogical approaches to education. An effect of what is at least a triple-usage of the term is that scholars who describe or outline translingual pedagogies do not necessarily describe classroom language practices or didactic strategies in accordance with the principles of translanguaging as a linguistic descriptor.

For example, in the South African context Probyn (2015) observes what she calls “pedagogical translanguaging” in public rural and township schools. Her analytical tools for describing teachers’ language practices that constitute this pedagogical translanguaging, however, are firmly grounded in code-switching research. For coding her data she for example uses Ferguson’s

three broad pedagogic functions for classroom code-switching: (1) for constructing and transmitting knowledge; (2) for classroom management; (3) for interpersonal relations and to humanize the classroom climate (Ferguson 2009 as cited in Probyn, 2015, p. 224).

Probyn’s study has great merit in that she shows how South African teachers often already display a translingual stance towards classroom linguaging, treating their learners’ linguaging resources as useful assets. This is despite the fact that they are working in state schools where heterogeneous language practices are not valued but rather frowned upon and where teachers get blamed for them. At the same time, her study illustrates how translanguaging, when used to refer to pedagogies and didactic strategies, is often used together with linguistic descriptors that imply the existence of separate languageS – like here the notion of code-switching.

An example of a study where scholars use translanguaging for the pedagogical approach, the didactic strategies and the description of language practices in a classroom comes from García and Leiva (2014). The authors analyse a classroom dialogue in an English Language Arts classroom of a school for newly arrived Latino immigrant students in the United States. The material used is the lyrics of an (in itself translingual) song that features resources associated with Spanish and English. The

²² Most scholars of translanguaging use the adjective ‘pedagogical’ for concrete teaching strategies. I find it useful, however, to use the term ‘didactic’ for those concrete classroom strategies and I reserve ‘pedagogical’ for all encompassing approaches to education that include for example a particular positioning and attitude towards learners. The introduction of ‘didactic’ also helps in discerning that translanguaging is indeed being used to describe three different things: language practices, didactic strategies and pedagogies.

contributions to the emerging classroom dialogue from the teacher as well as the learners are also described as translingual. It is interesting that the authors assign rather general functions to instances of translanguaging, strongly reminiscent of how particular functions get associated with instances of code-switching: “The students’ translanguaging serves three important discursive functions – to enable: 1. Participation, 2. Elaboration of ideas, 3. The raising of questions” (García & Leiva, 2014, p. 210). When the teacher translanguages it is said to serve the following functions: “1. to involve and give voice, 2. to clarify, 3. to reinforce, 4. to manage the classroom, and 5. to extend and ask questions” (García & Leiva, 2014, p. 210).

We remember how Ferguson finds three major functions of classroom code-switching: “(1) for constructing and transmitting knowledge [...] (2) for classroom management [...] (3) for interpersonal relations [...] and to humanize the classroom climate” (Ferguson, 2009, pp. 231–232). Even though in García and Leiva’s account translanguaging is used instead of code-switching to describe language practices of students and didactic strategies of the teacher, it is not entirely clear where the difference or the additional analytical merit lies. In fact the analytical outcomes point to a similar lens: general functions are assigned to language practices and/or didactic strategies that are *not monolingual*. Heterogeneous language practices under translanguaging are therefore analysed as practices or strategies that are per se different from monolingual ones – otherwise there could not be an assignment of such general functions to them. Therefore, an element of seeing like a state – of the conflation of linguistic features and languageS discussed in [2.1.2](#) and [2.2.2](#) – seems to survive when the notion of translanguaging is applied in classroom research.

Remnants of the statist lens are also apparent in the fact that named languageS as analytical reference points are normally not abandoned in classroom studies that use “translanguaging”. Even though the theoretical backgrounds of those studies mostly suggest a break with a tradition that constructs languageS as countable entities, languageS tend to remain points of analytical reference. Formulations like “her utterance shows an overlap between isiZulu and English” (Makalela, 2018, p. 276) or “both teacher and learners used more English than isiXhosa” (Probyn, 2015, p. 228) show that even though a critical stance towards such categories is asserted by many scholars – Creese and Blackledge for example write that “such classifications [into languageS] are meaningless for the speaker” (2010, p. 108) – alternative classifications

that may be potentially more meaningful are not provided and linguistic features continue to be analytically attached to languageS by default.

This then is one reason why the term ‘translanguaging’ will join the list of descriptors that I *will not use* in my analyses. I do this again with acute awareness of the achievements of translanguaging scholarship in unsettling the idea that education is necessarily a monolingual enterprise and in pointing out the disadvantages that speakers with heterogeneous language resources have compared to those whose repertoires are more homogeneous in the statist view. But I want to ‘see’ more and it seems that no matter how hard scholars try to emphasise that translanguaging differs from code-switching, because it implies the ‘transcendence’ and not the ‘switching between’ languageS, the prefix *trans-* remains tempting in that it can easily suggest a transition between languageS that is similar to a ‘switch’. The result is noted by Otheguy et al. who write: “As the term translanguaging gained adherents in sociolinguistics and education, it began to drift toward covering essentially the same conceptual terrain as code switching” (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 282). This means that analysts using the translanguaging lens have difficulties to distance themselves from seeing “in conformity to how the state sees” (Silverstein, 2014, p. 18) and remain distracted by languageS from looking at the minute details and functions of particular linguistic features.

The second concern I have with the term is that, even if the *trans-* prefix does what it is supposed to do, namely encourage scholars to ‘transcend’ languageS in their analyses, the perspective that comes with that is still different from the one I want to develop here. A translanguaging lens leads from languageS to a realm where languageS do not matter. In order to ‘see’ translanguaging we therefore need to first ‘see’ languageS so that they can then be transcended. This ties in with the fact that the *trans-* prefix in analyses often seems to reinforce the idea that languageS do exist and are always relevant. Another possible implication of the prefix is that translanguaging opens up a space where languageS are certainly irrelevant. Conceptually this then would mean that languageS and translanguaging are mutually exclusive and that any instance of translanguaging is an instance in which languageS are not relevant ordering principles. While there are certainly interactions where languageS don’t matter, I am in this study concerned with describing language practices in English classrooms. Therefore, there is definitely one statist repertoire that matters as an ordering principle:

Standard English. Sometimes Standard Xhosa is relevant as well, as I will show later. A concept that implies the transcendence of languageS altogether, systematically shutting out statist homogeneity in the manner in which classical linguistics has often systematically shut out heterogeneity (see also Jaspers, 2019), does not appear as an adequate descriptor for language practices in language classrooms.

Another concern is that, as indicated above, the term translanguageing has done a lot of different work recently, sometimes being associated with overall pedagogical approaches, sometimes with concrete didactic strategies and other times with ‘unwatchful’ day-to-day language practices where speakers are not concerned with administrative boundaries between languageS. It gets rather complicated to discern what translanguageing means where, as the term takes on a “chameleonic character” (Jaspers & Madsen, 2019, p. 10) and becomes overstretched at the cost of analytical precision.

In my study I prefer to use the term ‘languageing’, as I have already been doing throughout my writing, to designate day-to-day language practices that are not limited by “watchful adherence” (Otheguy et al., 2015) to the boundaries of a statist repertoire (‘a language’). Languageing is therefore always potentially heterogeneous. Homogenised language practices where speakers are watchful towards language confines will be referred to as ‘englishing’ or ‘xhosing’, as I will explain further in [2.3.3](#). But first I elaborate on my conceptualisation of ‘languageing’, because it is central for the analytical perspective I aim at in this thesis, where languageing and heterogeneity are the norm, (i.e. my analytical starting point) from which homogenised language practices can be, but are not necessarily discovered.

2.3 Languageing our way from individual to spatial repertoires

2.3.1 Languageing as a spatial practice

For Jørgensen, languageing means that “language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal with the intention of achieving their communicative aims” (Jørgensen, 2008, p. 169). Comparing this to the above introduced definition of translanguageing as “the deployment of a speaker’s full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of

named (and usually national and state) languages” (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 283) shows that the two terms describe a similar phenomenon but with different emphases. While the definition of languaging underscores the goal-oriented nature of language practices for which *whatever* linguistic features can be mobilised, translanguaging puts more emphasis on the transcendence of administrative language boundaries in language practices.

Also, in the translanguaging definition there is an emphasis on linguistic features being actualised from the linguistic repertoire of a given individual speaker. We find ourselves therefore somewhat away from the social sphere – for example the speech community in Gumperz’s definition of repertoires – in the mind of the individual, where linguistic features are said to be found (Canagarajah, 2011; Jaspers & Madsen, 2019). The retreat into the individual’s mind is not surprising, since the anchor of a stable speech community as a unit of analysis for repertoires is being increasingly unearthed under conditions of globalisation and superdiversity (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Busch, 2012). To capture contemporary language practices, Blommaert and Backus argue that it is indeed more helpful to define repertoires as “individual, biographically organised complexes of resources,” which “follow the rhythms of actual human lives” (2013, p. 15). In this view, individual repertoires are shaped by people’s life trajectories and are constantly changing, influenced by the spaces individuals traverse and language in. While coming into being through social interaction, repertoires are seen as something that individuals then have – at least temporarily – and carry around with them. Translanguaging is then the actualisation of such individual repertoires.

While (bilingual) individuals are said to “sort through the language features” (García & Wei, 2014, p. 15) in their repertoires in order to choose the appropriate resources for actualisation, these sorting processes are said to take place in the minds of individuals. Accordingly they remain invisible to the analyst who can only look at features as actualised in interaction. Translanguaging, therefore, while it sometimes is intended to describe this sorting process, is applied in analyses to the results of this process, which are the language features that get actualised. This will later become an important distinction between what an individual, speaker-centred lens allows the analyst to see in contrast to what can be made visible through a spatial lens.

The idea of individual repertoires helps me in my study to account for the resources that learners and teachers – with their partly similar and partly different life trajectories – ‘bring’ into the English classroom. However, this idea is not comprehensive enough to include all the linguistic resources that speakers use (Canagarajah, 2018). For example in the classroom, teachers and learners have to also engage closely with linguistic resources they might not themselves *have* but that are distributed via centralised curricula and arrive in material form – in books, exam papers and other teaching materials. Those resources are not necessarily part of the individuals’ existing competencies – for example the Grade 5 teacher says in interview that she sometimes has to look certain words from the material up in a dictionary before a given lesson begins (Interview Grade 5 Teacher) – but they are available and relevant in the classroom space during a particular activity. It is therefore useful to think about linguistic resources as material elements that are “externally ‘at one’s disposal’ rather than internally as part of one’s competence” (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015, p. 83). These resources then get “assembled *in situ*” (Canagarajah, 2018, p. 37, emphasis in original) in languaging-in-space. This also allows the analyst to make linguistic sorting practices visible as they are no longer hidden in the minds of individuals, as I will explain more in [2.4.1](#).

Jørgensen’s definition of languaging as a practice where “language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal” (2008, p. 169) in goal-oriented ways can accommodate this more material view of linguistic resources that is important for my study. This definition also makes room for languageS to be potential – not necessary – ordering principles in languaging, because it doesn’t include any reference to (hitherto) administrative associations of linguistic features with languageS. There is therefore the possibility of finding homogeneity in heterogeneity without the either-or that the translanguaging perspective seems to suggest. I therefore take over Jørgensen’s definition of languaging in this thesis but define it more explicitly as a spatial practice, as I explain below.

Since the individual’s repertoire no longer occupies centre stage, we have at this point languaged our way away from languaging as an individual, towards languaging as a spatial practice. I suggest that this idea can be helpfully conceptualised along the lines of how de Certeau described walking as a spatial practice in his essay “Walking in the City”. He writes that “a spatial order organises an ensemble of possibilities (e.g., by a

place in which one can move) and interdictions (e.g., by a wall that prevents one from going further)” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 96). It is the practitioner – in his example the walker in the city – who then

actualises some of these possibilities. In that way, he makes them exist as well as emerge. But he also moves them about and he invents others, since the crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of walking privilege, transform or abandon spatial elements (de Certeau, 1984, p. 96).

I use this description of walking as a spatial practice for my purposes by defining the spatial order²³ as the physically and institutionally delimited space of the English classroom that organises an ensemble of linguistic possibilities – not merely by physical delimitation but also via institutional rules concerning what language practices are legitimate in a language classroom.

The linguistic resources that are organised in this space are those reaching there through institutional channels in textbooks and test papers and those brought by the teacher and the learners as sedimentations of their routinised day-to-day languaging. The walker becomes the languager²⁴ (here the English teacher or learner) and the practice of walking becomes the practice of languaging. Languaging then no longer stands for the deployment of linguistic features from an individual’s repertoire but, in my definition, for the actualisation of elements from a locally situated ensemble of linguistic possibilities. Languagers “privilege, transform or abandon spatial elements” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 96) – here linguistic resources – and invent new ones as they go (or language) along. They therefore always work from – and on – the ensemble of linguistic possibilities as space is “handled and shaped by practices” (de Certeau, 1985, p. 137). English teachers in Khayelitsha handle and shape the ensemble of linguistic possibilities in the classroom by ordering it in ways that help them to teach English optimally, as I will clarify in the following section.

²³ De Certeau’s definition of spatial order describes what I will refer to merely as space throughout this work.

²⁴ De Certeau himself also draws a parallel between the act of walking and ‘speech acts’. In his language comparison he however focusses on points different to those I want to make here. Nevertheless, it was his comparison of walking and speech acts that has inspired me to try the same with walking and languaging.

2.3.2 *From kitchen to classroom repertoires*

The idea of situated ensembles of linguistic possibilities that are “handled and shaped by practices” (de Certeau, 1985, p. 137) comes close to what sociolinguists have recently been describing as ‘spatial repertoires’ when accounting for language practices in spaces like restaurant kitchens, markets and gyms – mostly in urban settings of the global North (Baynham & Lee, 2019; Blackledge & Creese, 2017; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015). Less common so far are studies of spatial repertoires in educational spaces, with the exception of Canagarajah (2018), who studies a university class of STEM²⁵ scholars in the United States. What unites these studies is a dynamic notion of space similar to that of de Certeau, where “space transforms, and is in turn transformed by, action” (Baynham & Lee, 2019, p. 109). Spatial elements like linguistic features or other semiotic resources in this view constitute assemblages that form “situated and emergent spatial repertoires” (Canagarajah, 2018, p. 48), which are performative and accommodate heterogeneity and unpredictability.

A good illustration of what can constitute a spatial repertoire comes from Pennycook and Otsuji when they investigate how staff members from diverse backgrounds in restaurant kitchens in urban Sydney get things done with language. They suggest the concept of spatial repertoires to account for all the resources available in these kitchens. They write:

The repertoires of these kitchens are organisations of the totality of linguistic resources (including menus, the name of the restaurant, labels on wine bottles and so on) brought to this place through the linguistic trajectories of the people and space (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015, p. 84).

Moving now from kitchens to classrooms, as hinted at above, here these organisations of the totality of linguistic resources – or ensembles of linguistic possibilities – consist of resources that are partly brought into the classroom through the linguistic trajectories of teachers and learners but also through the translocal, institutional channels of South African schooling. The language resources in school books and test papers, prescribed by centralised curricula and assessment systems, are somewhat like the language on the wine bottles in Sydney’s restaurant kitchens. Just as kitchen and restaurant staff ‘handle’ names of wines, dishes and the resources they themselves

²⁵ STEM stands for ‘Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics’.

bring to the spatial repertoire, teachers and learners handle resources they bring themselves as well as those from the written material.

With regard to how the resources get there, however, there is a difference between an institutional space like the classroom and a commercial space like a restaurant. Restaurants are not subject to centralised state planning. Wine can be ordered according to what is considered most appropriate for the clientele and dishes on the menu are likely (or hopefully) within the cooking expertise of the staff. The linguistic resources that teachers and learners are confronted with in township English classrooms, however, are at the discretion of educational authorities – sometimes to the frustration of teachers, who have different ideas of what would be locally appropriate for their learners. For example, as already mentioned in [1.4](#), the Grade 5 English teacher in this study says in interview about the teaching materials prescribed by the curriculum:

I think sometimes the words that they use are much too difficult for them [the learners]. [...] I would prefer them, or the writers of the book, or the department to give us a book with easier words since English is their [the learners'] second language (Interview Grade 5 Teacher).

As it stands, the ‘book with easier words’ remains the teacher’s wish and the ‘much too difficult’ words are ‘things’ she *has to* handle. They are instantiations of statist linguistic fixity in the form of Standard English resources that cannot be ‘transcended’ in her classroom, because their mastery is the very target of English teaching. So if the spatial repertoire of the Khayelitshan English classroom (henceforth: ‘classroom repertoire’) is conceptualised, Standard English resources are part of its central elements.

But teachers and learners also routinely actualise the Khayelitshan repertoire and can enrol resources from their languaging in the township into the classroom repertoire. As already became clear in the introduction, Khayelitsha’s ensemble of linguistic possibilities includes resources with various histories, some of which are quite sedimented²⁶ while others flow and transform due to the particular mobility patterns

²⁶ Somewhat more sedimented elements of the Khayelitshan repertoire include morphological resources for noun class agreement and other semantically rich morphology that is not available in Standard English. While such morphology has been usefully described by Bantu linguists and is under that paradigm associated with Standard Xhosa, we have seen already in the opening quote that Khayelitshan languaging constantly thwarts the logic that entangles this morphology with a set of Standard Xhosa lexical items and grammar rules (e.g. *ilanguage*).

of residents and the suspense between connection and separation from the city that characterise the township ([1.2](#)). The Khayelitshan repertoire, therefore, is a non-codified spatial repertoire, constantly transforming and being transformed by languaging. This is what makes it different from Standard Xhosa and Standard English. The latter are also spatial in that they structure the constructed spatial order of state education. To allow for a more nuanced distinction, however, I prefer to refer to them as statist repertoires (languageS), because they exist beyond the realm of languaging as comparably fixed linguistic codes and often also as aspirational ideologies. They are not transformed by languaging but by the necessarily much slower written practices of standardising and codifying that structure the space of state education.

In this view, the Khayelitshan English classroom becomes a pivotal space where two linguistic spaces – instantiated via their associated repertoires – fold²⁷ into each other, forming together a heterogeneous ensemble of linguistic possibilities:

1. the space of state education instantiated by Standard English (and sometimes also Standard Xhosa)²⁸ as a statist repertoire constituted by practices of standardising, codifying, writing and testing
2. the space of Khayelitsha instantiated by a non-codified, heterogeneous repertoire dominated by oral languaging and subject to the social processes that Gumperz (amongst others) describe for speech communities

Khayelitshan English teachers are pivotal figures in the classroom space, because, as fluent Khayelitshan languagers and trained English teachers, they have access to both of those repertoires that constitute the classroom as a linguistic space. Learners in turn, coming from a space where languaging is fluid and heterogeneous without access to Standard English, might not yet see all the folds in the repertoire, since many Standard English linguistic features are also Khayelitshan resources. Teachers, however, can order the classroom repertoire, sorting its constituents – Khayelitshan and statist – and in the process teaching learners ‘which resources go where’ in the statist order, while still making sure that they understand the content of the demanding material. This

²⁷ I adopt the idea of ‘foldedness’ from Actor Network Theory, see for example Latour (2005).

²⁸ I argue that Standard Xhosa is not a relevant ordering principle during the oral classroom activities in the English classroom, because adherence to this code is not policed or consistently approximated by teachers or learners. I will illustrate this point with empirical findings as I go along (e.g. in [4.2.1](#); [4.4.2](#) and [4.5.5](#)). When the classroom becomes a writing space, however, Standard Xhosa does become relevant as a linguistic ordering principle, as I will explain in [6.1.2](#).

ordering of the classroom repertoire is done via a linguistic sorting practice I call *relinguaging* and that I will explain in [2.4](#), after discussing the notions of *classroom languaging* and *englishing* below.

2.3.3 Classroom languaging and classroom englishing

Teachers in Khayelitshan English classrooms have to work with and around the linguistic resources that come with the curriculum materials and establish Standard English – or their localised interpretation thereof – as a recognisable linguistic ordering principle in the classroom. They have to teach their learners how to sort out spatial repertoires so they can recognise and orient towards Standard English in their languaging – they have to teach them how to *english*.

If we take the heterogeneity – produced by the folding of the Khayelitshan and the statist repertoire into the classroom space – as the norm and the analytical starting point, then ‘classroom languaging’ is the goal-oriented actualisation of *whatever* linguistic features offered by the classroom repertoire, without restrictions to the constructed boundaries of ‘a language’ within that repertoire. Classroom languaging – that is often heterogeneous – is then also the generic term I use for teachers’ and learners’ language practices in class. In contrast to that, ‘classroom englishing’ is then the actualisation of *specific* resources from the classroom repertoire with a watchful orientation towards the boundaries of Standard English. ‘Xhosing’ could express the same practice in relation to Standard Xhosa and along those lines a verb could be derived from whichever named language, indicating that the language itself – the statist repertoire – is not what people speak but whose norm is the written form. People’s idea of what constitutes that ‘language’, however, can nevertheless function as a major ordering principle in their languaging. If that is the case, then they ‘english’ or ‘xhosa’, actualising linguistic features while being watchful to – but not necessarily a hundred percent in keeping with – the boundaries of a statist repertoire. Englishing or xhosing can therefore also be instantiated in heterogeneous language practices that nevertheless display a strong orientation towards the rules and boundaries of a statist repertoire. My analysis of the morpheme ‘u-’ as an ‘englishing device’ in [5.2](#) will illustrate this point, and other empirical examples presented throughout this thesis will also show how linguistic homogeneity and an orientation to standard linguistic norms can be found within heterogeneity.

Instead of always talking about ‘classroom languaging’ and ‘classroom englishing’ I will sometimes just use ‘languaging’ and ‘englishing’. These verbs in this context, however, always refer to actualisations of the classroom repertoire, unless otherwise indicated. Below I now turn to the much mentioned linguistic sorting practice that emerges between classroom languaging and englishing.

2.4 Relanguaging in two directions

2.4.1 Relanguaging as ‘*sorting out*’

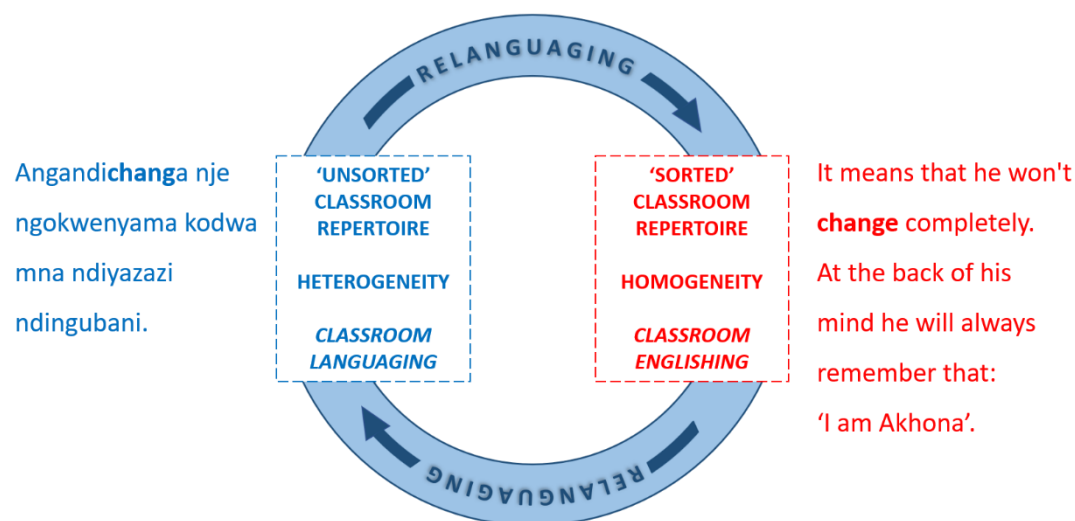
Remembering the folded condition of the Khayelitshan English classroom repertoire, the prerequisite for englishing is to order these repertoires so that homogenised Standard English can become recognisable and foregrounded as the repertoire to orient towards and choose from. This implies a *sorting out* of the Khayelitshan resources in the classroom repertoire so that heterogeneity retreats into the background. This backgrounding of one, and foregrounding of the other repertoire through *sorting out* is one intimation of the prefix *re-* in relanguaging.

In an extensive morphological analysis of the prefix *re-* as attached to different verbs, Saragih finds that its most common meanings are “back or again” (2008, p. 25) and to “redo something differently” (2008, p. 23). It always intimates that something is already there, which is then either worked on and emerges differently, or is being reproduced (“again”) or returned to (“back”). If we begin from the conceptualisation of the classroom repertoire as a linguistic space where both repertoires – Khayelitshan and statist – are folded into each other, forming a heterogeneous, unsorted ensemble of linguistic possibilities, then relanguaging is a reinvention, a redoing of that linguistic space into one that appears more homogenised and makes englishing possible. In its homogenising direction, relanguaging is therefore the sometimes visible and sometimes hidden practice that systematically prepares englishing. It does not describe the actualisation of linguistic possibilities but their ordering or sorting beforehand. Accordingly, englishing is the result of the sorting practice I call relanguaging, not the sorting practice itself.

An example is when a teacher picks up a linguistically heterogeneous statement a learner had made and relanguages it into classroom englishing by *sorting out* all

Khayelitshan resources. This example can be illustrated with a relanguaging circle, a model that I will reinvok at various points throughout the analyses presented in this work:

Circle I – ‘sorting out’



The learner’s statement (*here in blue*) ‘Angandichanga nje ngokwenyama kodwa mna ndiyazazi ndingubani’ (*He can change me only superficially but me, I know who I am*) instantiates the heterogeneous unsorted classroom repertoire via classroom languaging (*see the blue box in the circle*). The teacher then relanguages (top arrow) this statement by *sorting out* the Khayelitshan resources but keeping the verb ‘change’ that the learner assembled in ‘angandichanga’. She says (*here in red*): ‘It means that he won't change completely. At the back of his mind he will always remember that: ‘I am Akhona’ (Grade 5 English Lesson 16.05.2016). Here, the contrast between the teacher’s englishing and the learner’s heterogeneous classroom languaging makes relanguaging visible. The teacher sorted out the Khayelitshan resources, repositioned ‘change’ as a Standard English resource, overall balanced²⁹ the classroom repertoire towards homogeneity and then demonstrated how to english (*see the red box in the circle*).

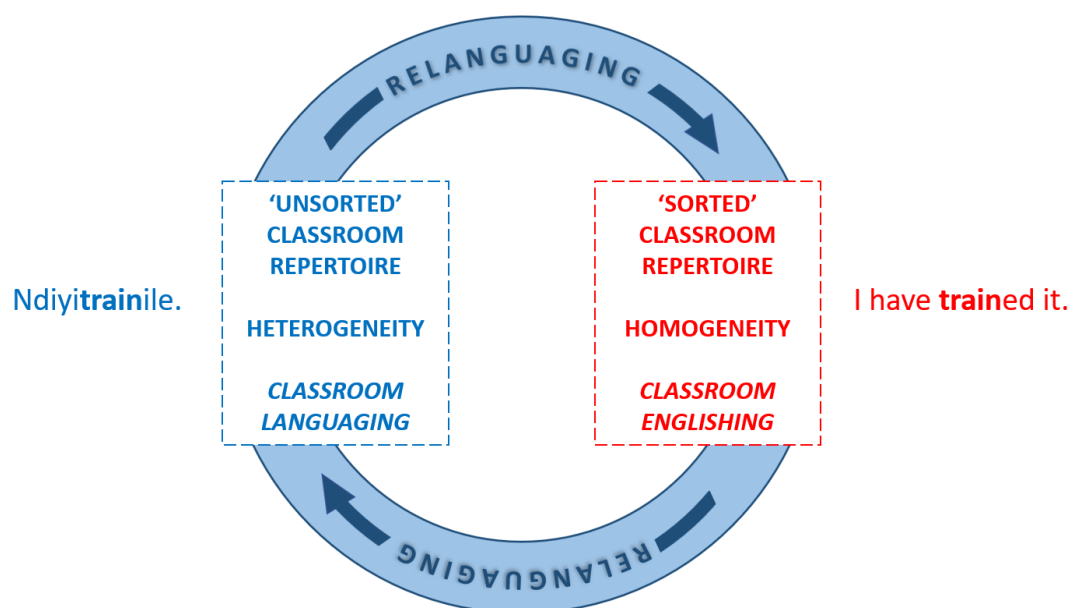
²⁹ I take the idea that spatial repertoires can be differently ‘balanced’ from Baynham and Lee (2019). They talk about the spatial repertoire during a capoeira dance session being sometimes balanced predominantly towards the verbal when the instructor explains or sings, and other times more towards “a greater use of communication through physical movement” (2019, p. 111) when the instructor demonstrates capoeira moves. In my case I use the picture of balancing to illustrate how the teacher sometimes creates a more linguistically homogeneous and sometimes a more heterogeneous space through relanguaging.

This is how relanguaging itself – here in its homogenising direction as *sorting out* (top arrow) – can be made visible at the threshold of linguistic hetero- and homogeneity. Relanguaging is a process of larger linguistic ordering in space but becomes most tangible in its manifestation as a watchful rephrasing of something that was actualised from the classroom repertoire a moment ago, like in the above example. Relanguaging is the sorting practice that under translanguaging, with its focus on individual repertoires, is said to take place hidden in the minds of speakers. I posit here that a conceptualisation of repertoires as *spatial* instead of *individual* and of linguistic resources as *material* allows us to sometimes make this sorting practice visible. Whether uncovering it is possible or not, considering that the classroom repertoire is heterogeneous to begin with, we can posit that every act of englishing that we observe is the result of relanguaging. This is what it means for me in this thesis to base my analysis on the premise of heterogeneity as the norm. This is but one example of relanguaging as a homogenising practice – as a *sorting out* of the Khayelitshan resources in the classroom repertoire that prepares englishing. Throughout my data analysis, a more nuanced and complexified picture of this practice will emerge.

2.4.2 Relanguaging as ‘bringing together’

As described up to now, relanguaging is a homogenising move performed on the classroom repertoire, reinventing it to make englishing possible. In the illustration of the relanguaging circle we were therefore concerned with the top arrow that shows relanguaging as it goes from an unsorted to a sorted classroom repertoire. However, *re-* can also stand for ‘back’ to some original place, which, in this case, is the heterogeneity of the full classroom repertoire with Standard English and the Khayelitshan repertoire in their unsorted foldedness. At points where homogeneity had been foregrounded in the classroom repertoire – say when the teacher had been reading from a Standard English story or was englishing for other reasons – relanguaging means to reconnect the Standard English resources with the Khayelitshan resources, *bringing together* the statist and the Khayelitshan repertoire again. Relanguaging is then a heterogenising move on the classroom repertoire and again it manifests itself most visibly at the threshold of homo- and heterogeneity as ‘watchful rephrasing’. The relanguaging circle can once more illustrate this with a simple example:

Circle II – ‘bringing together’



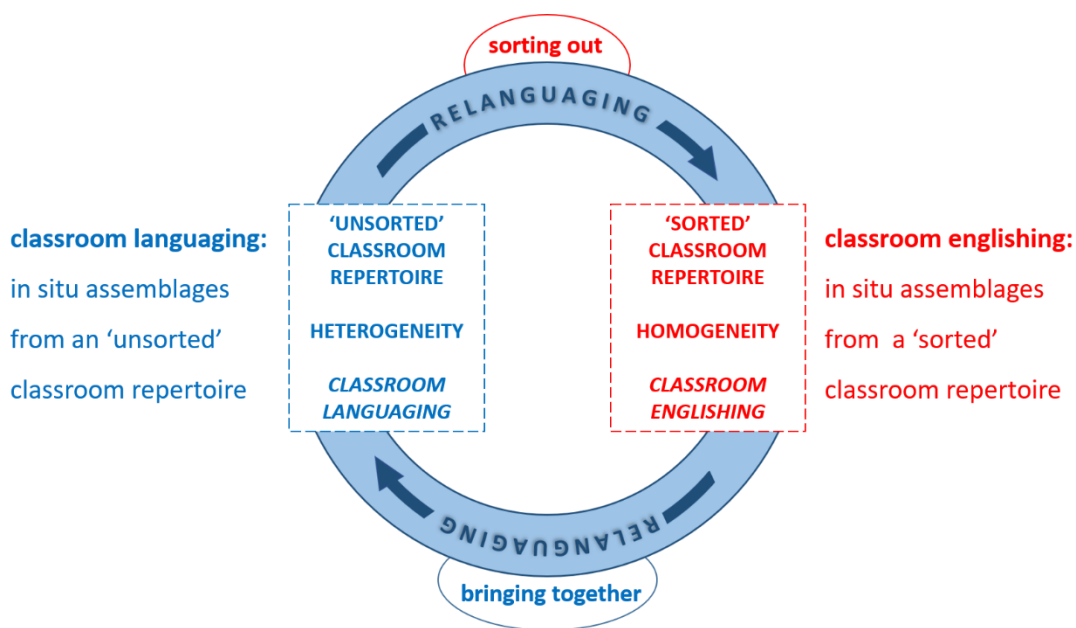
The teacher here reads the sentence ‘I have **trained** it,’ (in red) from a story and then relanguages it into ‘Ndiyitrainile’ (*I have trained it*), in blue. In this case the first step in the relanguaging process is the homogenisation of the classroom repertoire, instantiated by the Standard English sentence as read from the story. Then we see relanguaging as *bringing together* (bottom arrow), systematically preparing classroom languaging. Here the primary ordering principle is then not the rules and resources of one statist repertoire but the interactional aim of making learners understand something – in this case the vocabulary item ‘train’ – and in pursuit of that aim the teacher brings ‘train’ together with Khayelitshan morphology (*ndi-*, *-yi-* and *-ile*), mobilising the full classroom repertoire without restricting herself to one of its constituent repertoires. Again this is but one example of relanguaging as a heterogenising move – as *bringing together* – for linguistic ordering in space and the description of the practice will be refined throughout this work.

2.4.3 The relanguaging circle

With the practice of relanguaging the teacher’s pivotal role regarding the order of the classroom repertoire becomes clear. As we will see in the data analyses, with relanguaging teachers manage two competing pressures: On the one hand they draw on the full classroom repertoire to give learners linguistic clues to make sense of Standard English stories, task instructions and exam questions. On the other hand, they

demonstrate how to english – how to homogenise the classroom repertoire by *sorting out* those resources that do not count as Standard English and then actualising those that do. Therefore, they constantly relanguage back and forth, not between a first and a second language, but between heterogeneity and homogeneity, between languaging and languageS. The two relanguaging directions of homogenisation and heterogenisation can at this stage be summarised like this:

Circle III - Two directions of relanguaging



Depending on whether the classroom repertoire is balanced towards heterogeneity or homogeneity at certain points during an activity, we will see relanguaging as a *sorting out* or a *bringing together* of the resources in the classroom repertoire. *Sorting out* results in an ensemble of linguistic possibilities that is limited as much as possible to the confines of Standard English, actualised in classroom englishing – here comparable to a local approximation of Standard English. *Bringing together* then results in the full classroom repertoire being available for classroom languaging. It will become clearer throughout my data analyses that classroom languaging is neither adequately described as Khayelitshan languaging nor as Standard Xhosa but that it is “assembled *in situ*” (Canagarajah, 2018, p. 37, emphasis in original) from a heterogeneous classroom repertoire.

We have now seen relanguaging as larger processes of linguistic ordering in space. What will also count in my analyses, however, are the fine-grained details of the results of these processes, of classroom englishing and classroom languaging. Deep-dives into such detail will reveal relanguaging to be a more complex phenomenon than what I have described it as so far. For example the convenient binary between homogenisation and heterogenisation through relanguaging will break down at certain points, but for now it serves as a scaffold to outline the field of tension in which the process emerges here: the push-and-pull between statist homogeneity and local heterogeneity in the Khayelitshan English classroom.

This chapter served to introduce and explain the analytical viewpoint from which I begin the experiment of this thesis. I have explained the concepts that I think will help me to locate myself as an analyst on the languaging-side with regard to the heterogeneous practices (languaging) and the homogenised languageS that are relevant in the Khayelitshan English classroom. The conceptual considerations I presented are therefore aimed at developing an alternative to linguistically seeing like a state. It is central for this new vision to dissolve the default conflation of linguistic features and languageS in linguistic analyses that I discussed at various points throughout this chapter. Just how difficult this task is will become clear when I now provide insights into the methodology that has helped me to conduct this experiment.

3. A linguistic ethnography for seeing more

3.1 Previewing the methodology

This preview is an initial glance at the different research approaches that I have enrolled into my methodology in the experiment of this study. After this I move on to set the ethnographic scene by describing the research site and my (language) background as a researcher ([3.2](#)), before I introduce the participants ([3.3](#)). Once it is clearer where we are and with whom, the sections on data collection ([3.4](#)) and analytical strategies ([3.5](#)) explain in more detail the constituents of this assembled methodology and how they were put to work in this project.

A central part of the experiment of this thesis is to develop a counter-perspective to the statist lens. The latter foregrounds and normalises categorisation and simplification and therefore, as I have argued earlier ([1.7](#)), the alternative lens has to normalise heterogeneity. This means avoiding surface-level identification and categorisation of linguistic phenomena as one or the other to the greatest possible extent and taking individual features of languaging seriously. In this endeavour I have in some ways been digging in an open field, careful not to get caught up in established categories of sense-making from linguistics, while trying to understand what I still consider to be linguistic phenomena. Methodologically this meant that discarding that discipline of linguistics was not an option, but neither was relying on it. In turn I tried to put together what could be called *a heuristic of limited linguistics* that takes advantage of the orientation to detail and the pattern-finding tools of the discipline, while still allowing me to unsettle its traditional objects of knowledge: languageS.

What helped in this project is that I did not come to this thesis as a trained linguist but instead with a multidisciplinary background, shaped by my training at the Institute of African Studies at the University of Leipzig. There, the aim was to provide students with broad access to various fields and themes that are relevant in the scientific study of Africa – history, political science and linguistic anthropology, to name but a few. When acquiring tools to access a variety of research fields and to analyse different types of data, ethnography was as present at the institute as praxeology and conversation analysis – approaches that also inspire the methodology at hand. Linguistics only gradually became more relevant for me when I was already working on the PhD and teaching at the School of Languages and Literatures (African Languages Section) at the University of Cape Town ([3.2.3](#)). I therefore acquired the linguistic knowledge relevant for this study as I went along.

I came to appreciate the systematic deep-dives into the (morphological) fine grain of situated classroom languaging that linguistics allows for. In this study, especially insights from Bantu language scholars proved very valuable (Morrison, 2018; Nurse & Philippson, 2003; Pahl, Burns-Ncamashe, & Ntusi, 1971). At the same time, my lack of formal training had me retain a certain naivety towards linguistics. While this accounts for gaps in my readings that make certain analyses presented here more difficult, it simultaneously made it easier to keep my distance from many common-sense categories and descriptors that can tempt analysts to see like a state. In a way,

coming from outside the discipline has sheltered me from an overwhelmingly linguistic ideology of linguistics. What linguistics is and could be, and what constitutes its object of knowledge, remained malleable for me throughout this work, as I combined linguistic tools with other methods, inviting “reflexive sensitivity to the processes involved in the production of linguistic claims and to the potential importance of what gets left out” (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 4). A methodological framework that can accommodate much of what I have in mind here is linguistic ethnography (Creese, 2010; Madsen, 2018; Rampton et al., 2004).

Madsen writes about this approach that it

combines ethnographic methodology (observations, interviews etc.) with micro-analysis of recorded interactions (employing tools from conversation analysis and linguistics), and it sees social and linguistic categories and structures as being produced and reproduced through practices in everyday life (Madsen, 2018, p. 392).

Linguistic ethnography as a framework exploits the potential for complementarity of different approaches rather than creating or reifying boundaries between them. Its “interpretative stance is shaped by a disciplinary eclecticism” (Creese, 2010, p. 140) that is also instantiated in this methodology. On the one hand lies an ethnographic exploration of language practices in the specific space of the Khayelitshan English classroom. With extended periods in the field and methods like participant observation, recording of classroom language practices, collecting teaching material and conducting interviews (3.4), I have worked towards gaining an insider view on classroom language practices (Heath & Street, 2008; Lodico, Spaulding, & Voegtle, 2006; Willig, 2014). On the other hand, the ethnographic approach was always ‘tied down’, as Rampton et al. (2004) put it, by linguistics, because I placed a particular focus on linguistic features used by teachers and learners in the classroom. This is then where ethnography and linguistics intersect.

Epistemologically, linguistic ethnography leans towards social constructivism and post-structuralism, with their emphasis on social and linguistic order being established and changed through practices (Creese, 2010; Madsen, 2018). If we emphasise the systematicity of the practices that are assumed to produce and structure the social world, then we find ourselves close to praxeological (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 2005) and (as already mentioned by Madsen cited above) conversation analytical approaches

(Deppermann, 2001; Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Psathas, 1994; Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby, & Olsher, 2002), on which I also draw here. Praxeology and conversation analysis both take the orderliness of social interaction seriously. They see this orderliness as being “produced by the parties in situ” (Psathas, 1994, p. 2) through (linguistic) practices and actions that are systematic to the point where even their smallest details are used to accomplish something, i.e. to produce sociability (Deppermann, 2001; Schatzki, 2005). I also assume of (here linguistic) detail that it accomplishes something in an orderly way and that to discover this orderly way is my task as an analyst (Psathas, 1994; Ten Have, 1999).

When I enlist tools from conversation analysis, I don’t see it as a bounded set of methods, but, like Deppermann, as a “kreative Tätigkeit” (*a creative activity*) (2001, p. 18) with room for analysts to try new analytical avenues and ‘play’ with their data, as long as the paths that prove of explanatory or interpretive value are made rigorously transparent to the reader (Deppermann, 2001, p. 18). Some of the paths I explore are inspired by actor network theory (Latour, 2005; Law, 2004), as I leave behind the immediate classroom situation to follow (linguistic) objects through different spaces – classrooms and beyond (3.5.5). Other avenues are ethnographic, instantiated for example by asking teachers in stimulated recall interviews about what they want to achieve by using particular linguistic features at specific points in their classroom languaging (3.4.2). Based on the premise that participants’ implicit knowledge about practices can be made explicit (Garfinkel, 1967, vii), teachers’ explanations offer additional input for understanding how the classroom gets ordered linguistically and what is accomplished that way.

A first glance at the methodology has shown that I somewhat stretch and adapt the approach of linguistic ethnography to fit the task at hand, which is to make visible new things about languaging in Khayelitshan English classrooms. The methodological bricolage I put together by eclectically drawing on different approaches, including linguistics, allowed me to conduct the experimental enquiry I aimed at here and to discover and analyse the order of classroom language practices that is captured in the notion of relanguaging. As the chapter unfolds, it will become clearer how this assembled methodology is instantiated in concrete strategies of data collection and analysis. But first we need to get a sense for where this study is set and for who is involved.

3.2 Setting the scene

3.2.1 *The school*

The school is located in Khayelitsha, about 28 kilometers away from Cape Town's city center. It sits at the intersection of an area dominated by government housing³⁰ and one of Khayelitsha's huge informal settlements, densely packed with corrugated iron shacks. The primary school covers grades R³¹ to seven, employs 30 teachers and accommodates around 1000 learners. It is a low-fee public school that belongs to quintile 2 (according to the poverty ranking of schools in South Africa), which marks the 'second poorest' category.³² Schools in quintile 1 are the poorest in the country and those in quintile 5 the best resourced ones. Under Apartheid, Khayelitsha Primary was administered by the Department of Education and Training (DET) and only Black staff and learners were allowed there (Christie, 1995). While this situation is no longer stipulated by law, the fact that the learner and teacher body at the school is exclusively Black has not changed – as is the case for many former DET schools in South Africa, due to continuous residential segregation and unequal access to financial resources (Banda, 2003; Fataar, 2009).

At Khayelitsha Primary, most classrooms, the library, and a computer lab are distributed across two long, two-storied buildings. Due to an increasing influx of learners throughout the last years, some new container-like classrooms have been built on the school grounds. All classrooms are relatively well kept, as is the rest of the school, which is looked after by diligent maintenance staff and some parents. There is a small garden and a school kitchen from which learners can get breakfast as well as warm lunch. The high number of learners has resulted in some hygiene issues, mainly due to a lack of toilet paper and the absence of any soap in the bathrooms.

The learners come from working class families, mostly at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum. Slightly better-off parents are likely to send their children to schools outside of Black townships like Khayelitsha (see [1.5](#)). Some of the children

³⁰ “The National Housing Subsidy Scheme, established in 1994, provides eligible households with a one-off housing subsidy that effectively gives ownership of a newly built house, colloquially known as RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) housing” (Lemanski, 2008, p. 394).

³¹ Grade R is the pre-school grade with learners between 5 and 6 years of age.

³² Information retrieved from the [Education Management Information System \(EMIS\)](#), last accessed on 19.07.2019.

come to school with dirty uniforms and often the clothes they wear are too small. These are clues to a lack of financial security, and often also of parental care, at their homes. Teachers told me that for many learners the only warm meal they receive is the one provided by the school. Staff often spoke about how many parents suffer from alcohol addiction, struggle to look after their children and show no interest in their schooling careers. During my time at the school I have encountered plenty of drunk parents coming to pick up their children or to complain about something to the teachers. Although in my research I focus on language practices in English classrooms, the socio-economic background of the learner population, and how it might influence their ability to concentrate in class, must be kept in mind.

In the following section I will describe how I gained access to the school as a research site before I turn to my (linguistic) background as a researcher.

3.2.2 An ongoing story of accessing the field

This PhD project, for which I conducted research from January until end of September 2016, follows a research project for my Master's thesis (Krause, 2014)³³ at the same school in 2013. For my MA research I only spent three months at the school, investigating language values and practices of teachers across all classrooms from Grade 4 to 7. At the time of that study, my rather rudimentary local languaging skills and limited conceptual insights into linguistics and practice and space-based accounts of languaging restricted possibilities of engaging with the finer details of classroom language practices. The study nevertheless produced valuable insights into teacher talk in classrooms across subjects, as well as into teachers' attitudes towards what they do with language in the classroom and how it is valued or stigmatised by authorities at the school and beyond (Collins & Krause, 2019; Krause, 2014; Krause & Prinsloo, 2016). It is the insights from that initial study, especially regarding the importance of English as a door-opener for career opportunities beyond the township, which made me interested in the language dynamics in those classrooms where this highly valued repertoire called Standard English is to be acquired: the English classroom.

Access to the research field during my MA in 2013 (see Krause, 2014, pp. 24–26) was gained through contacts with an NGO that I volunteered for in Cape Town in 2009.

³³ Data from the MA research project is also discussed in Krause and Prinsloo (2016) and Collins and Krause (2019).

This NGO has some projects in Khayelitsha and acted as an intermediary between me and Khayelitsha Primary. When, in 2015, I began thinking about returning to the school for further research, the same NGO offered me a position (which I accepted) as a Centre Manager in a literacy program they had just started at that school. From March 2015 until March 2016 I then worked at Khayelitsha Primary, mainly coordinating volunteers, who were working with children from Grade 3 (the grade just before the change to English medium instruction in all subjects). The children in the program were identified as ‘at risk’ of not reaching the levels of literacy in English aimed at in these grades. One volunteer would work with two children at a time for an hour, following a specific program of literacy support exercises. I sometimes also worked with the children myself, which has equipped me with valuable background knowledge about the languaging skills and struggles that ‘at risk’ learners at this school enter into Grade 4 with, one of the grades in focus in my PhD research. While always excited to spend time in a small group with a volunteer, getting some focused attention outside the class groups that normally have around 40 learners, the children struggled with Standard English phonology when reading and with putting sounds into writing. They also wouldn’t English and all volunteers working with them had to have local languaging skills. From other encounters with learners at the school, and from conversations and interviews with teachers, I know that this doesn’t only apply to learners rated as ‘at risk’, but that the majority of them face these struggles when transitioning from Grade 3 to Grade 4.

Access to the English classrooms relevant to this study was facilitated by my work for the NGO at the school, because I had plenty of opportunity to ‘negotiate access’ (Setati, 2005, p. 93) by speaking to teachers and the principal about the possibility of conducting further research. Combined with my previous MA project, that had already afforded me the possibility of getting to know teachers and staff very well, the conditions for the new undertaking were good. Teachers and the principal were no longer worried that I might leak any of the insights I gained from classroom observations to departmental authorities.³⁴ Given the fact that heterogeneous language practices – always referred to as ‘code-switching’ by stakeholders in education – are

³⁴ This fear that I would have some sort of political involvement that could uncover teachers’ language practices in the classrooms was very present in teachers and the principal when I started the first research in 2013. I had to repeatedly explain my exact research interest and why I wasn’t going to leak any of the information I obtained to the departmental authorities. This issue is also discussed in Setati (2005).

officially unwanted in the classroom, the prospect of a researcher observing them and potentially informing officials, doesn't sit well with teachers and school-management. But because, through my continuous involvement at the school, I got the chance of repeatedly displaying an open attitude, wanting to learn about the logic behind teachers' practices in the classroom rather than criticising them, when I approached the principal about the possibility of observing English teaching, he was open to the idea. The condition was that I obtained written consent from all the teachers. Also, before entering their classrooms, I would have to get their renewed verbal consent each time. The Grade 4 and the Grade 6 teacher already knew me and had allowed me into their classrooms during previous research. They were willing to let me in again after I explained why I was particularly interested in English teaching this time. The Grade 5 teacher was comparably new at the school and I had to explain to her in more detail what exactly I was there to do. At the end, however, data from her classroom has the highest share in the analyses presented in this thesis (see [3.3.3](#)).

Before I move on to introduce the teachers, I first describe my (language) background as a researcher that enabled me to conduct a detailed linguistic ethnography in Khayelitsha.

3.2.3 Learning to language in Khayelitsha

The MA research, the year of work for the NGO and the eight months of PhD research add up to almost two years of regular involvement at the school. Linguistically, this meant that I frequently listened to and practiced Khayelitshan languaging in this setting. When I was not in classrooms, I often spent lunch breaks with the maintenance workers and the cleaning staff or talking to teachers. While I would not claim that I ever became a fluent Khayelitshan languager, my friends, also outside Khayelitsha, would often tell me that when I xhosa, what tends to come out is 'isiXhosa saselokishini', the 'Xhosa' of the location, i.e. of the township. I would therefore argue that I have sufficient skills in actualising the repertoire of the area to, for example, hypothesise about which languaging resources learners and teachers in the classroom might be familiar with from their day-to-day language practices. Especially in the ethnographic contextualisation of the linguistic analyses of the classroom data, my Khayelitshan languaging skills are therefore a valuable resource.

I have, however, not only acquired Khayelitshan languaging when at the school, but have also intensively pursued xhosing skills academically. During the time of the PhD research I completed a Major in Xhosa Communication at the University of Cape Town (UCT). The study course put emphasis on mastering the grammar of Standard Xhosa with its noun class system and complex morphology. Towards the end of the course, I became a tutor and also started to give private classes. In March 2017 I then started lecturing parts of the same Xhosa Communication course that I had completed before. From March 2017 until June 2018, I lectured students in 1st (beginner), 2nd (intermediate) and towards the end also those in the 3rd year (advanced) of the course.

In my teaching I have – with the support of the course convener – focused less on Standard Xhosa and as much as possible on mostly urban, but also rural spatial repertoires, which share many characteristics with Khayelitshan languaging. For teaching preparation this meant transcribing languaging from different samples of these repertoires that came for example from radio show broadcasts in Cape Town and from conversations recorded in different research projects in rural and urban settings. I also extensively analysed the morphology in song texts and in social media posts. While these resources I have produced for teaching will not play a role in this thesis, their development has made me very familiar with the actualisations of different spatial repertoires that are similar to Khayelitshan languaging. This further contributes to the languaging skills that support me in the analyses that I present here.

3.3 The participants

3.3.1 Purposive sampling

In this qualitative study that does not intend to be statistically representative, I employ purposive sampling as described by Ritchie, Lewis, McNaughton Nicholls, and Ormston (2013). The three teachers who participate form a small sample in close proximity to the research question (Ritchie et al., 2013, p. 120), because my study wants to give a detailed account of situated local practices in a particular setting. My sample consists of English teachers who work under similar conditions at the same school, all teaching English as First Additional Language (EFAL) in Grades 4, 5, 6 or

7. In these grades, English is not only a first additional language but also the LoLT for all other subjects except Xhosa. English teachers therefore hold a crucial position at the school, as the subject – or the language – they teach is a necessary instrument for learners to do well in the other subjects. At the school there are only three teachers of EFAL in these grades, so I restrict my research sample to them.

Learners participated in the sense that I administered a writing task, which they completed anonymously. The only existing information connected to the about 100 writing pieces is the grade learners were in at the time of writing. The sampling criteria for the learners was simply that they studied in the English classrooms of the teachers who participated in this study. I now introduce these teachers, each with an individual profile.

3.3.2 The Grade 4 teacher

The Grade 4 teacher is in her late 50s and has been teaching mostly English and Life Skills³⁵ at Khayelitsha Primary since 1997. She always seemed extremely busy at school. It was sometimes hard to get a chance to speak to her and to arrange dates and times for observing her teaching. I had to convince her anew each time when I wanted to observe her classes. Often, when we had made an appointment in advance, she would cancel at the last minute, giving me one or the other reason why that day was not a good day to observe – maybe learners would have to write a test the next day or the lesson was simply going to be “boring”. That is why I only managed to record five of her English lessons in this research project. Still, I have a good sense of her teaching style, because I had already observed several of her other lessons and interviewed her during my MA research.

This teacher has a strict air about her. She clearly has senior status at the school and a good relationship with school management and the principal. Her strictness shows in her teaching, where she regularly reprimands learners for overstepping her rules for proper classroom behaviour. Nevertheless, there was also often a sense of humour shining through, with which she would lighten up her sometimes quite loud and

³⁵ According to the Curriculum Assessment and Policy document for Life Skills in intermediate phase, “the subject aims to develop learners through three different, but interrelated study areas, that is, Personal and Social Well-being, Physical Education and Creative Arts” (Department of Basic Education, 2011, p. 8).

authoritative teaching style. Learners in her lessons seemed to validate her authority, remaining rather quiet when she spoke but laughing heartily whenever she made a joke.

She was as strict with herself as she was with her learners. In interview, when asked about her languaging in class, she often commented along the lines of “It’s wrong of me to say ... ” or “I’m supposed to say ...” (Interview Grade 4 Teacher).³⁶ It took a while for us³⁷ to clarify that we were not criticising her practices but were interested in her analytical perspective of how she languages in class. She then did open up and, also in interview, never lacked a certain sense of humour, laughing at what struck her as the oddity of her own languaging. What in turn struck me about this teacher is her confidence in her learners to be able to master Standard English even under linguistically complicated circumstances like those at Khayelitsha Primary. She said in interview: “The children learn language easily.” What their success depends on, in her view, are the right resources and appropriate teaching strategies. We will learn from her later on what some of these strategies look like.

3.3.3 The Grade 5 teacher

The Grade 5 teacher is 41 years old, began teaching at the school sporadically as a volunteer in 2013, and then became a permanent staff member in 2014. When I began my research she had been at the school for about two-and-a-half years. She is originally from KwaZulu-Natal and self-identifies as a Zulu speaker but is a fluent Khayelitshan languager.

Of the three teachers, she was the one most understanding and supportive of my research. I was able to record 14 of her English lessons. In two of these lessons, Formal Assessment Tasks – test papers from the Department of Education – were written. I did not get the chance to observe formal testing activities with any of the other teachers. It might be that the test-writing days were those days where they didn’t allow me in while giving me some other reason, because they deem testing a sensitive issue – but I can only speculate about that. Whatever the reason, the test lesson data I did get from this teacher is highly relevant as there are no ethnographic inquiries into

³⁶ For a list with the dates on which each interview was conducted see [Appendix C](#).

³⁷ Tessa Dowling, the first supervisor of this thesis, supported me in conducting two out of the three interviews, as I will explain further in [3.4.2](#).

township English classrooms during a testing activity that I know of. Overall, in the part of this thesis that focusses on teachers' oral classroom languaging (chapter 4 & 5), the data from the Grade 5 teacher's classroom takes up more space than that from other classrooms. However, I always make connections between how this teacher languages and how the others do it in their classrooms, to show that her practices are not merely idiosyncratic but often exemplify those of her colleagues.

Characteristic of this teacher is that she speaks very slowly in class in order to make it easier for her learners to understand her, as she mentions herself in interview: "If you notice when I'm in class I speak slowly so that they can hear each and every word that I speak or that I say" (Interview Grade 5 Teacher). This matches well with my impression of her as being rather serene and calm in the classroom, mostly seeming confident in herself and her teaching strategies. This also comes out in interview where she is the only teacher who is not apologetic about her heterogeneous languaging in class. She does not seem to feel like she has anything to hide, which might also explain why she let me observe lessons where learners were being assessed.

One thing really stands out about this teacher: While the other two would sometimes be surprised or get confused by detailed questions about particular linguistic features and how they use them in class, needing some additional explanation before responding, with the Grade 5 teacher it seemed like she had been waiting all along for somebody to ask her such questions, as evidenced by her enthusiastic and comfortable responses. For her, linguistic features were great entry points to tell us about her linguistic strategies in teaching and she often provided very specific accounts of why she did what at a certain point – accounts that I will share throughout this work.

3.3.4 The Grade 6 and 7 teacher

When I did my research, due to severe illness of the Grade 7 teacher, the grades 6 and 7 were taught by the same teacher. I will refer to him as the Grade 6 teacher but I will later always clarify whether the data discussed is from Grade 6 or Grade 7. He started teaching at the school around 1995 and is in his early 50s.

What comes to mind when describing this teacher is restlessness. He was always fidgety and talks extremely fast. This made it sometimes hard to transcribe data recorded in his classrooms and even in casual conversation I often had to ask him to

repeat. While he is a routinised teacher with a lot of experience, he always seemed nervous and this impression was again exacerbated by his fast way of speaking. In interview, his first reaction to a question would often be apologetic, saying things like “I’m sure this is wrong,” when I was quoting his heterogeneous language practices. With time, however, he became less defensive and slightly calmer.

Despite his general air of nervousness he still let me into his classrooms. Some appointments got cancelled at the last-minute but all in all I managed to record eight of his English lessons. I have, however, decided not to include much beyond the occasional snippet of data from his classrooms into the analyses in this thesis. This is firstly because, based on my impression of him as nervous and defensive, I decided not to use the stimulated recall interview method with him but interview him more traditionally (see [3.4.2](#)). This produced a situation where I mostly could not integrate his interview comments directly into my linguistic analyses of sequences of classroom talk like I did with the other two teachers. Secondly, this teacher’s practices are very idiosyncratic. For example he draws extensively on proverbs and metaphors throughout his teaching in an almost obsessive way that I have not observed in any other classroom – English or otherwise – during my time at the school. This teacher’s linguistic practices warrant a separate thesis. Nevertheless, at some points throughout this work I do quote short sequences from his lessons and integrate his interview comments, where they converge with topics that were relevant in the other two teachers’ classrooms.

Having set the scene with the description of the research site, the researcher’s background and the participants I now turn to the ethnographic methods with which I collected the data.

3.4 Data collection

3.4.1 Audio recording in the classroom

The first part of my data collection was the recording of language practices in the classroom while taking supplementary field notes. I recorded with a small device that has sufficient strength to adequately record voices in a confined space like a classroom. No other observers were with me. The presence of an umlungu (*white person*) –

normally this only happens when departmental subject advisors come to observe lessons – can distract learners and influence teachers to deviate from their usual language and teaching practices. My presence in the beginning deroutinised classroom practices (McIntyre, 1980; Setati, 2005). During the first one or two lessons I spent in a classroom, learners would sometimes look at me before answering their teacher's questions and teachers would sometimes explain to the learners why I was there and why they didn't have to worry or be shy on my account. Teachers probably were also more conscious of their teaching during my first visits but I soon became 'part of the furniture' inside the classroom and mundane teaching routines set in.

When observing and recording lessons, I sat in the back of the classrooms in order to distract learners and teachers as little as possible. The complete lessons were sound recorded. The teacher's voice is clearly audible throughout, some learners' voices can also be heard and supplement the overall teacher-focused data. Whenever something would strike me about teachers' languaging, e.g. gestures or pronounced body languaging, I jotted it down in my diary, noting the exact minute of the recording at which it happened. Later I correlated my notes with the transcription of the lesson to see what was said while certain gestures were made. Many activities, however, were rather language-centred and did not involve much other activity. But where it did occur, this somewhat multimodal combination of field notes and recordings (Jewitt, Bezemer, & O'Halloran, 2016) was the optimal method to capture different elements of languaging in a highly sensitive research setting where video-recording was not feasible (see [3.6.2](#)).

Teachers often – but not always – provided me with the material (e.g. worksheets, textbooks etc.) they deployed in the lesson so that I was able to follow the tasks. Sometimes, especially if teachers had forgotten that I was supposed to join the class for that lesson and I had to remind them again shortly before, I just sat down, as it did not seem appropriate to ask them for any material. Some lessons I therefore plainly recorded without being able to relate them directly to concrete written material afterwards. The possibility to establish this direct relationship between oral classroom language practices and the language resources from the teaching material is important for my analyses, since I look at languaging as a spatial practice with linguistic resources assembled in situ from spatial repertoires. The resources in the teaching material are often central elements in the classroom repertoire. Accordingly, those

lessons where I had direct access to the written material proved more productive for analyses in this thesis.

The classroom observations with audio recording were the first step in the data collection process and I conducted the bulk of them from February to May 2016. During that period I also transcribed the lessons – most of them completely and others in parts (for example if they included a lot of silent work of learners). The major part of the transcriptions had to be completed before I conducted the interviews, because I was interested in teachers' implicit knowledge about their own classroom languaging. To elicit this knowledge, I used stimulated recall interviews (Calderhead, 1981; Dempsey, 2010), playing instances of their own classroom language practices during interviews the teachers (see [3.4.2](#)). I therefore had to make an initial selection from the gathered material. The resulting research process was not a linear one of data collection and subsequent analysis, but a recursive one of jumping back and forth, as preliminary analysis had to precede the interviews. This rather early selection of particular pieces from the data has to be reflected upon, because it has implications for my choice of focus in this thesis. I will attend to this in [3.5](#), where I discuss my analytical strategies.

3.4.2 Semi-structured stimulated recall interviews

The interviews were conducted in May³⁸ and September 2016. All of them were semi-structured (Ayres, 2008), allowing space to explore different directions while still maintaining a structure to ensure a focus on the research topic (Lodico et al., 2006). Interview questions were mostly englished but sometimes we as interviewers also drew on heterogeneous language resources commonly used at the research site. Teachers were encouraged to answer using all resources at their disposal freely. All interviews were recorded and transcribed in full. The interviews with the teachers of Grade 4 and 5 were conducted with the stimulated recall method (Dempsey, 2010), differently from the one with the teacher of Grade 6 & 7. I will here first describe how the Grade 4 and Grade 5 teachers were interviewed. I then explain how I proceeded with the other teacher and why I decided to use a different approach with him.

³⁸ See [Appendix C](#) for a list with the exact dates of each interview. The interview with the Grade 4 teacher was conducted this early, because my first supervisor Tessa Dowling and I – after my initial reviewing and coding of the data – decided to write a paper that would specifically focus on this teacher's classroom language use (see Dowling & Krause, 2018).

Dempsey describes stimulated recall interviews as an ethnographic method that consists of “interviewing individuals while playing them audio or audiovisual recordings of their own behaviour in social situations” (2010, p. 349). Traditional interviews without such recall stimulation do still help ethnographers to gain insight into participants’ rationales for certain practices, but they sometimes succumb to problems of memory and perspective of participants. While not eliminating these problems, the method of stimulated recall interviews nevertheless

brings informants a step closer to the moments in which they actually produce action. It gives them the chance to listen or view themselves in action, jog memories, and give answers of “I did,” instead of “I might have” (Dempsey, 2010, pp. 349–350).

In her study, exploring teachers’ views on teaching mathematics, accounting and history through the medium of English in secondary schools in South African townships, Probyn uses video recordings for stimulated recall. She reports that “the interviews elicited extraordinarily detailed and insightful accounts and rationales for practice from the teachers” (2001, p. 254). The depth of the ethnographic insights generated by this method in her study in South African schooling contexts (linguistically similar to those in my study) inspired me to use it in this project as well. Since I was not able to video record, I used audio material instead (see [3.6.2](#)).

The stimulated recall interviews were conducted by me together with my first PhD supervisor Tessa Dowling. I asked her to support me with her longstanding linguistic expertise that would allow her to ask questions about morphology that I could not have come up with at that time. As explained in [3.3](#), the Grade 4 and 5 teachers appeared to be more confident about their teaching and more open than the Grade 6 teacher. I therefore asked them whether they would be fine with another person participating in the interview and they did not mind. The interviews were productive. We spoke with the Grade 4 teacher for one hour and with the Grade 5 teacher for almost two hours. This had to do with the fact that I was able to do more classroom observations in the Grade 5 classroom than in the other classrooms (see [3.3.3](#)).

The interviews consisted mainly of teachers’ comments on the classroom languaging snippets I had chosen for stimulated recall – the selection process will be discussed in [3.5.1](#) – and the main guideline was provided by the order in which we played the snippets for them. Sometimes we asked specific questions about what was played and

other times we simply let teachers comment freely on how they languaged in the relevant instance. We then asked follow-up questions to their comments, which covered the following topics:

- Reasons for using particular linguistic features in a given activity
- Teachers' perception and rationalisation of the particular instances of languaging

We also prepared some additional questions that were sometimes not directly related to instances of classroom languaging but were of general importance to the research project. These questions covered topics like

- Ideologies about language teaching and learning
- Views on Khayelitsha, or townships in general, as settings with particular linguistic characteristics
- Experiences/challenges around teaching English in this particular social and educational setting
- Experiences with centralised assessment procedures and departmental authorities

These parts of the interviews were more traditional and semi-structured, with room for new topics and elaborations (Lodico et al., 2006).

With the Grade 6 teacher I conducted the interview differently, as he was often very nervous and appeared insecure (see [3.3.4](#)). From my regular interactions with him, I knew that it would be extremely difficult to play his own classroom data for him without appearing critical of his teaching or language practices. I therefore decided not to confront him with his own practices – because I anticipated it to be exactly that: a confrontation, rather than an exploration of his languaging. I prepared questions about some of the features of his classroom language practices that stood out to me, described the instances or repeated the relevant languaging features to him in interview and then ask questions about them. As with the other teachers, I also asked questions unrelated to direct instances of classroom languaging that covered the topics mentioned above. This interview was therefore a more traditional semi-structured interview that went on for 45 minutes and still generated valuable insights.

3.4.3 A writing task

Supplementing the data from teachers, I administered a written grammar exercise for learners across the grades I observed. The idea was to add some language produced by learners to this teacher-talk centred research. I was interested in how much applicable English grammar knowledge learners take from the English lessons that I had observed and recorded. Another point of interest was to find out how learners cope with interpreting written English instructions by themselves, because in the classroom such written tasks are always further explained orally by teachers, using language resources learners are more familiar with. I did not provide any explanations for the tasks but let the learners read and answer by themselves. I ended up not including these tasks into my analyses in this thesis but at certain points I refer to some general findings from them. What takes centre stage in my exploration of learners' writing is a task that followed this grammar exercise.

The worksheet I handed out also included a picture story that learners were supposed to describe using whichever language resources they wanted to. The idea for this task emerged during the research when I had already observed a lot of classroom languaging by the teachers. The question "What would language education look like if we no longer posited the existence of separate languages?" (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007b, p. 36) was ringing louder and louder in my ears and I wanted to know what languaging techniques learners would display in their writing when let completely off the 'languageS hook'. This writing task was unconventional, because writing at the school normally either happens in Standard Xhosa (in Grades 1 -3 and later in Xhosa language classes) or in Standard English after Grade 3. It was therefore a particular space of experimentation that, as an external researcher, I was able to open up in this context where writing is normally a strictly monolingual activity. Accordingly, I explained the task in some detail to the learners before they started writing. I will explain the exact nature of the task and how it was introduced in [6.1](#), where I begin to focus on the writing pieces.

Having given insight into the ethnographic methods of data collection that constitute this linguistic ethnography, I now turn to the relevant strategies for data analysis.

3.5 Analytical strategies

3.5.1 Noticing teachers' relanguaging and my own statist vision

During the period in which I gathered classroom data I also transcribed the recordings as soon as I had them at hand (see [3.4.1](#)). I needed the transcriptions early, so I could begin my initial analysis and select pieces to play for the teachers in the stimulated recall interviews. Because my focus wasn't on the minute details of timing and sequencing of utterances, I didn't use elaborate transcription systems common in conversation analysis (see for example Ten Have, 1999) but simple transcription, capturing the details of linguistic forms in such a way that their morphological make-up could later be glossed and analysed linguistically.

Some of the sequences I chose for stimulated recall related to my broader ethnographic interest in what it means to teach English in Khayelitsha (see [1.4](#) & [3.4.2](#)). When I found instances in classroom talk that for example hinted at dynamics around assessment, problems with teaching material or at teachers' issues with particular types of learner-behaviour, I would play them in interview to elicit more comments on these topics from teachers. This selection process was therefore based more on content than on linguistic form. But beyond this more general inquiry, I was interested in the linguistic dimension of teachers' practices, especially regarding what linguistic features they use when and in order to accomplish what.

In my engagement with the transcribed data in order to select sequences that spoke to this more linguistic interest, I was aided by conversation analysis and to some degree by grounded theory, approaches that both have the analyst look into the data with an open mind, not too strongly influenced by preconceived ideas or existing scholarly theories. Instead, the particularity of one's material takes centre stage and it is the analyst's creative task to find patterns within the data (Böhm, 2003; Creswell, 2007; Deppermann, 2001; Schegloff, 1996; Ten Have, 1999). The parts of the data that I subjected to close investigation were identified not based on a predefined analytical aim "but by 'noticings' of initially unremarkable features of talk or of other conduct" (Schegloff, 1996, p. 172) that seemed to accomplish something in the English classroom.

An initially unremarkable feature of talk that I noticed because it was so prominent across classrooms, was that teachers spent a lot of time on what I initially coded as ‘saying things differently’. Teachers would take the Standard English resources from the teaching material and ‘rephrase’ them, i.e. say them ‘anew and differently’. In the process they would often entangle – as I saw it – Standard English resources with various different resources from the classroom repertoire, for example with Khayelitshan morphology. I would later come to describe this as the ‘heterogenising’ direction of relanguaging that produces classroom languaging by *bringing together* a variety of resources (see [2.4.2](#)). Other times, teachers would also rephrase heterogeneous classroom languaging via Standard English resources, and this I would later describe as the ‘homogenising’ direction of relanguaging that produces englishing by *sorting out* Khayelitshan resources (see [2.4.1](#)). ‘Saying things differently’ or ‘rephrasing’ occurred in a variety of classroom activities, accomplishing different things like trying to make learners understand the content of stories or poems that were read in class, helping them make sense of task instructions, or even nudging them into passing tests. I had, therefore, found the core phenomenon that I wanted to focus on in the teacher interviews and picked some examples that I thought of at the time as exemplifying this practice to play for stimulated recall.

My next step was pairing the transcripts of the stimulated recall snippets from the classroom recordings with what teachers said about them in interview. I therefore ended up with a combination of transcribed classroom languaging excerpts ready for detailed linguistic analysis, as well as with data from the interviews and my observations and languaging experiences at the research site, which added an ethnographic dimension. However, I did not exclusively focus on the classroom data for which I had teacher comments, but also reviewed the material in its entirety again several times throughout the process of analysis. This recursive analytical process of cross-checking the material with my emerging interpretations by repeatedly listening to the recordings and viewing the transcripts of classroom talk and interviews is common in grounded theory (Böhm, 2003; Creswell, 2007), but also conversation analysis is a hermeneutic process. It revealed relanguaging as a phenomenon that is “more complex than first noted” (Psathas, 1994, p. 52), but most importantly it revealed to me that during the initial noticing, pattern-finding and data selection process, I as an analyst still saw in accordance to how the state sees. I noticed more

often the instances of relanguaging that went from homo- to heterogeneity – the former apparently anchored as the norm and the latter as the interesting exception in my analytical vision. I therefore have more teacher comments on heterogenisation than on homogenisation and later I found several instances of classroom languaging and englishing that I could have played for teachers as well.

Finding this statist bias in my initial data selection and analysis really made me understand how difficult it is to develop and apply a lens that normalises linguistic heterogeneity. The very things I noticed when looking at the material speak to my own entrenchment in the languageS ideology, to my own ‘seeing like a state’. While it will come through at certain points in my analyses, I tried to mitigate the pull of the statist, homogenising vision by including various pieces of data that I only ‘saw’ later on, after better understanding my own bias. Even if in those instances I then don’t have direct teacher comments relating to the classroom data, my adaptation of linguistic ethnography still provides sufficient resources to meaningfully analyse them, not least due to its praxeological stance that I discuss below.

3.5.2 Taking the practice ING seriously

I have mentioned in [3.1](#) that the epistemological orientation of the research approach of linguistic ethnography leans towards social constructivism and post-structuralism (Creese, 2010)(Creese, 2010), presupposing that social and linguistic structures are *done*, i.e. produced, established and changed through practices. While translanguaging scholarship often speaks about language as a social practice, it has nevertheless been marked by a certain methodological individualism, with a focus on linguistic features belonging to individual repertoires (as discussed in [2.2.3](#) & [2.3.1](#)). Through this, the social practice part in the conceptualisation of language use has often remained underemphasised (Canagarajah, 2011, pp. 4–5).

Pennycook (2010, p. 8) notes that scholars often add the term practice or the suffix ‘-ing’ to language to render it an activity rather than a structure, without defining what practice as a theoretical concept adds to the idea of languagING. In my study I profit from taking the ING seriously and making explicit what this means for my definition and analyses of linguistic features and languaging. One of the premises for my linguistic analyses is summarised by Pennycook when he writes that

it is not that we use language as a pre-given entity in context, but rather that we produce language in our repeated local activities. Furthermore, these activities are parts of bundled practices, and as such they are always social, always historical and always local (Pennycook, 2010, p. 46).

If languaging is seen as a spatial practice – which includes the social, local and historical dimensions mentioned here – then producing language in repeated local activities describes well how certain linguistic features become more or less sedimented parts of spatial repertoires that are in turn “handled and shaped by practices” (de Certeau, 1985, p. 137). But what constitutes a practice?

For Reckwitz, a practice

is a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge (Reckwitz, 2002, pp. 249–250).

Applying this definition to languaging as a spatial practice, I see linguistic features not primarily as mental elements of practices but first and foremost as *things* that are *used*. Looking at which things are used by whom, how and at what point of a given activity, is my analytical entry point to shed light on the other elements of the practice, like the “understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge” (Reckwitz, 2002, pp. 249–250)(Reckwitz, 2002, pp. 249–250) of teachers and learners that structure their languaging. Because linguistic features as elements of practices are my door-opener to everything else, in the first analytical step I need tools to discover and explain the affordances of the particular features – especially the Khayelitshan morphology – that are at play in the English classroom. For this purpose, classical linguistics, and here particularly Bantu linguistics, offers analytical instruments.

3.5.3 Tying ethnography down with Bantu linguistics

The fact that, as discussed under [2.1](#), classical linguistic approaches have been developed and used based on the assumption that the linguistic features analysed are parts of bigger structures (languageS), does not render their achievements in illuminating linguistic patterns and their meanings invalid. I argue that, instead of discarding linguistics, we have to disentangle it from statist categorisation projects and put it there “where “language” and everything dependent on it, actually live” (Silverstein, 1998, p. 403) – in this case into the Khayelitshan English classroom. In

this particular space, scholars of Bantu linguistics (Demuth, 2000; Katamba, 2003; Nurse & Philippson, 2003), and more specifically of Nguni languages (Koopman, 1999; Ngcobo, 2013; Pahl, Ntusi, & Burns-Ncamashe, 1978), can help us a great deal in understanding classroom language practices.

Morphological analysis for example makes it possible for me to identify (amongst other things) the affordances of tense and aspect morphology studied under the Bantu paradigm (Nurse, 2003), as well as the significance of morphological noun class agreement (Nurse & Philippson, 2003) in getting things done in the classroom. The reference work I refer to most in this regard is Nurse and Philippson (2003), as the editors assembled a variety of distinguished Bantu linguists, producing a book that has something to say about almost every feature studied under the Bantu paradigm. With specific reference to Standard Xhosa and its morphology, which is highly relevant for this study, I draw a lot on Pahl et al. (1971), who write themselves in Standard Written Xhosa and who I quote sometimes in relation to features that are quite specific to Khayelitshan languaging.

Fine-grained linguistic analysis is a good starting point for a linguistic ethnography that partly aims at

‘tying ethnography down’: pushing ethnography towards the analysis of clearly delimitable processes, increasing the amount of reported data that is open to falsification, looking to impregnate local description with analytical frameworks drawn from outside (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 4).

Linguistics is this external analytical framework referred to here, which I also use in my study to ground my analyses firmly in the details of the linguistic features used by learners and teachers in the classroom. But when accounting for linguistic features as elements of a spatial practice it is not enough to consider what such features have *generally* been found to afford speakers, i.e. their meanings and grammatical functions as codified in grammars and dictionaries. Instead, we need to know what they afford speakers in particular spaces. For this we need to know how a specific spatial repertoire in question is constituted – as I have described for the Khayelitshan English classroom repertoire in [2.3.2](#). And then we need to ask what exactly speakers accomplish – or want to accomplish – with the choice of particular linguistic features in that space.

If languaging is a practice, then we can posit that participants' linguistic choices are not random, because practices are carried out “above all, in order to do something” (Reckwitz, 2002, pp. 254–255). Feature selection is goal directed, as speakers choose those that make sense to them in a given situation (García & Wei, 2014; Jørgensen, 2008). Schatzki summarises this view when he writes about practices that people mostly

do what makes sense to them to do; more elaborately, they are almost always performing bodily doings that, in the current circumstances, constitute the actions that make sense to them to perform (Schatzki, 2005, p. 55).

To explore their linguistic choices, we therefore have to ask why teachers use which linguistic feature at what point and in order to do what. Such questions like: “Why that now (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973)? What is getting done by virtue of that bit of conduct, done that way, in just that place?” (Schegloff et al., 2002, p. 5) are the domain of conversation analysis (CA). This framework is helpful in this linguistic ethnography, as I will explain below.

3.5.4 Conversation analysis and the spatial lens

Conversation analysis offers itself for the analysis of languaging as a spatial practice, because one of the axioms of this analytical framework is that

every action is simultaneously context shaped (in that the framework of action from which it emerges provides primary organisation for its production and interpretation) and context renewing (in that it now helps constitute the frame of relevance that will shape subsequent action) (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p. 289).

The notion of context as actively shaping talk in interaction and in turn being renewed by it, is reminiscent of what current interactional sociolinguistics refers to as space. As discussed in [2.3.2](#), space is there also seen as transforming and being transformed by practices. Conversation analysts see speakers as drawing on, but also as oriented towards, shaping the interactional space. Talk in interaction is therefore “treated as both displaying an understanding of prior and projecting subsequent conversational actions” and this treatment enables “simultaneous analysis (a) of the organisation of action and (b) of understanding in interaction” (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p. 288). The tools from (Bantu) linguistics described above, allow me to analyse *which* features teachers and learners use *how* and *when*. With the additional conversation analytical approach I can also ask *why* they use them, because grammatical and lexical choices

are treated “as sets of resources which participants deploy, monitor and manipulate” (Schegloff et al., 2002, p. 15) to get things done with talk in interaction.

Conversation analysis has been described as a misnomer, because it suggests that it is only applicable to ordinary conversation scenarios (Drew, 2004), while it is actually a method of analysis applied across different interactional contexts (see for example Seedhouse, 2005 for language teaching). However, the name can also be explained by the fact that conversation analysts see conversational procedures as fundamental in talk in interaction. Therefore, scenarios different from ordinary conversation are taken to nevertheless be structured by variations of conversational principles (Deppermann, 2001; Goodwin & Heritage, 1990). One of these principles is “recipient design”, intimating that when choosing linguistic features, speakers consider the knowledge of their addressees (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p. 293). I see this situation amplified in a language classroom, where teachers have to consider in their linguistic choices the resources that the majority of learners in class can realistically already access. I am interested in the knowledge that teachers have in this regard and how it structures their languaging in class.

I have mentioned in [3.1](#) how Deppermann defines conversation analysis not as a strict application of a set of methods but as a “kreative Tätigkeit” (*a creative activity*) (2001, p. 18). It allows analysts to explore new paths and “play” with their data, as he puts it, as long as such analytical paths are made rigorously transparent (Deppermann, 2001, p. 18). This freedom, therefore, is not an invitation to casual analysis and convenient categorisation. Quite the opposite: Summarising phenomena under general headings like ‘code-switching’ or ‘translanguaging’ is not what conversation analysts are interested in. Instead, they “investigate individual practices for what they are being used to accomplish in a particular sequence and setting, rather than relying on categories imported from other, even similar settings” (Schegloff et al., 2002, p. 18).

Taking seriously the individual elements of situated practices in such a way is a goal I pursue in my analyses as well. I hold that a counter-perspective to the statist lens, which foregrounds categorisation and simplification, has to be one that – to the greatest possible extent – refuses to categorise, label and thereby ‘tick off’ linguistic phenomena as being that or the other. The focus needs to be on the detailed investigation “of actual specimens of naturally occurring talk in interaction”

(Schegloff et al., 2002, p. 5)(Schegloff et al., 2002, p. 5). Keeping in mind the definition of languaging as a spatial practice it is in this context important to emphasise that

insofar as the sense and relevance of an action emerge from and then contribute to the interpretive field created by the events that precede that action, analysis must move beyond the isolated sentence to encompass the sequences within which individual actions occur and where they are linked to each other (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p. 289).

This spatial lens that goes beyond the isolated sentence and takes seriously the order of the spatial repertoire at different points of activities is the only perspective under which relanguaging can be made visible, as my discussions of the data will illustrate. However, I go in my analyses not only beyond the sentence-level but also beyond the traditional domain of linguistics and conversation analysis, as I will explain below.

3.5.5 Opening linguistics up by following features and asking teachers

Conversation analysis and linguistics are normally confined to what is displayed by speakers in the immediate interaction in question. In my analyses, however, I often do not only consider what linguists have to say about certain features and what the conversation analytical lens allows me to see about what is accomplished with them in one situation. Instead, I am inspired by the Actor Network Theory (ANT) mantra “follow the actors” (Latour, 2005, p. 29). Importantly, in ANT, objects or things (in my case then linguistic features like lexemes, prefixes or suffixes) are seen as having agency in the production of sociability as well (Latour, 2005; Law, 2004). Therefore, as I follow the teachers step by step, going along with their linguistic choices as they read stories or explain instructions in class, on the way I sometimes go off on analytical tangents to follow particular linguistic features through different spaces at the school and beyond.

This method of following features helps to get a fuller picture of which particular affordances these linguistic resources might offer in the English classroom. In [5.2](#) for example, I trace the noun class prefix ‘u-’ through Bantu linguistic scholarship, through different classrooms and through the teacher interviews, where it pops up as well. I then consider what teachers themselves have to say about their use of this prefix, before I draw conclusions regarding ‘what ‘u-’ can do’ for teachers and learners in the English classroom.

Asking teachers in stimulated recall interviews about their use of language resources in class relies on the praxeological idea that even though practices – like languaging – are routinised behaviours, people can often explain them in quite some detail in retrospect (Garfinkel, 1967, vii). When asked specific questions, they can sometimes give their view on why they “x-ed instead of y-ed” (Schatzki, 2005, p. 59) – in my case for example why they used a certain linguistic feature and not another – in a given sequence. Via the stimulated recall interviews described in [3.4.2](#), I exploit exactly this ability of teachers to reflect on and explain concrete elements of their languaging. This is not to say that teachers speak more authoritatively, because they comment on their own practices. Nevertheless, their skills and experiences as teachers and as witnesses of the situations in focus make them into particular kinds of experts, whose voices help me in making sense of situated languaging. This interview method indeed elicited often quite detailed explanations that reveal parts of teachers’ know-how for example about how to make learners understand an English story, a task instruction or to ensure they pass their English tests.

Following features through different spaces, enrolling teachers’ expertise and drawing on my own local (linguistic) knowledge are methods that help me to discover new perspectives that would remain hidden in a purely linguistic and/or conversation analytical enquiry (Blommaert, 2007). The ethnographic and ANT-inspired approach of ‘following features and asking teachers’ described in this last section is then a tool for

‘opening linguistics up’: inviting reflexive sensitivity to the processes involved in the production of linguistic claims and to the potential importance of what gets left out (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 4, emphasis in original).

And, on the other hand, linguistics and conversation analysis are instruments for

‘tying ethnography down’: pushing ethnography towards the analysis of clearly delimitable processes, increasing the amount of reported data that is open to falsification, looking to impregnate local description with analytical frameworks drawn from outside (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 4, emphasis in original).

Taken together, these approaches constitute the methodological backbone of this study – *a linguistic ethnography for seeing more* in Khayelitshan English classrooms.

3.6 Possibilities, limitations and choices

3.6.1 Focus and relevance

The analyses I present in this thesis are neither meant to, nor suitable for, producing generalisable findings about language practices in South African township English classrooms. Languageing in a specific space from mainly two teachers, and writing in a specific space from a handful of learners, is all I can cover when following the analytical approaches outlined in this chapter. Working with a small sample and detailed analyses of few data pieces, this thesis is rather focused on making the case for a particular ‘way of seeing’. The relevance of my conceptual considerations in chapter 2 and my data analyses lies in demonstrating how a different perspective on language in township classrooms – and maybe on language more broadly – can be worked towards. My detailed investigations are suitable for developing concepts that can co-constitute fresh analytical lenses which might in turn be of some wider usefulness.

I chose the Grade 5 lesson analysed in chapter 4 on the grounds that it illustrates particularly well the two directions of relanguaging (2.4). Also, it offers such a broad variety of linguistic forms and languageing strategies that walking the reader through it in the beginning lays the foundation to understand the linguistic resources that will be encountered in the following chapters. The lesson is also representative of story-reading activities I have observed in other English classrooms where teachers were engaged in similar practices.

The sequence from the Grade 4 lesson in the first part of chapter 5 was chosen because it revolves around a task instruction and teachers had told me that learners struggle particularly with understanding written instructions. Insights into such activities are relevant to understand broader issues around written language and assessment in township classrooms. Secondly, a linguistic feature (‘u-’) that is important in this sequence is also so prevalent across classrooms that it caught my interest and warranted a close investigation.

The test lesson in focus in the second half of chapter 5 – again from Grade 5 – has some scarcity value because it is rare for researchers in South African township classrooms to be able to observe and record assessment live. This data is highly

relevant in light of the deficit oriented discourse around township teachers and learners. Considering the established common-sense that both parties perform badly in standardised tests, this lesson offered a unique opportunity to get ethnographic and linguistic insight into how testing actually gets done locally.

Eventually, the writing pieces were chosen with an eye on linguistic heterogeneity, because there is a lack of research on such writing practices in township (English) classrooms. After zooming in on the heterogeneous pieces I found some common themes that I exemplify in chapter 6 via a few representative pieces.

3.6.2 What was (not) possible

Dealing with a highly sensitive research setting, where teachers were conscious of overstepping institutional regulations with regard to language use in the classroom, brought with it some constraints regarding data collection. Even though the teachers had known me for quite some time there were still significant differences in how regularly they would allow me to sit in on their lessons. The result is that – as already discussed in the participants' profiles – different teachers had different shares in the collected data and I got to familiarise myself with the characteristics of their classroom languaging to different degrees. Because my interest is to dive into details rather than to generalise across teachers, I focus here on the participants whose practices I am best equipped to analyse in depth: the teachers of Grade 4 and Grade 5.

While the analyses of teachers' classroom languaging can be complemented with their own view of their practices elicited in interviews, the same does not apply for the writing data from learners. My research ethics did not cover interview engagements with minors. The lack of these participants' perspective has some analytical implications as to how far hypotheses about what learners intended with their choice of languaging resources in writing can reach. Linguistic and conversation analytical tools, however, still open up several productive analytical avenues.

The sensitivity of the setting also made video recordings impossible. Accordingly, my application and adaptation of the idea of spatial repertoires retains for the most part a linguistic bias, only rarely allowing me to pay attention to body interaction. Where the combination of fieldnotes, sound recordings and teacher interviews allows, however, I do discuss such practices within my conceptual framework (e.g. [5.3.5](#)). Overall, my

language-focused account of spatial repertoires in an institutional, rather ‘language-centred’ space is a particular contribution to the languaging-and-space paradigm that is currently dominated by studies with a broad semiotic focus investigating extra-institutional spaces.

4. An eagle learning to fly and an analyst learning to see

4.1 Before the story begins

4.1.1 *‘Going along’ with the story*

On the 16th of May 2016 I arrived at Khayelitsha Primary during morning assembly when learners and teachers gather in the schoolyard for about 15 minutes as the principal addresses some issues relevant to everyone, but mostly gives enthusiastic speeches about the importance of getting a good education. I joined the crowd and as we were all dispersing again I went up to the Grade 5 teacher to remind her that I was going to join one of her lessons on that day. As usual she was friendly and welcoming and confirmed that I could come in for the English period after the lunch break.

I entered the classroom as the learners were just cleaning up their desks and settling down and the teacher was sorting some papers. There were 35 learners in class on that day, seated in rows facing the blackboard. As it was the middle of May and my classroom observations had started in February already, the learners were used to me by now and barely noticed when I walked in and sat down at the back with my recorder. The bell rang and the teacher got up and greeted everyone with: “Good afternoon Grade 5!” and the class responded in a chorus: “Good afternoon educator!” – a routine repeated in all of this teacher’s classes, varying depending on the time of day from good morning to good afternoon. The teacher then turned to a story in the textbook that was going to be the focus of this lesson.

The textbook is provided by the Department of Basic Education (DBE) for Grade 5 English as a First Additional Language (EFAL) learners (Baker, de Vos, Edwards, Ralenala, & Swanepoel, 2012) and the story relevant on this day talks about a man

who catches a young eagle in the forest, brings it home and keeps it together with his fowls, ducks and turkeys. At this stage, I am not giving any more information about what happens in the story, because I ‘go along’ with it in my analyses and the events will unfold in the pieces of transcribed classroom data that I look into. The sequential order of my discussions of different instances of classroom languaging therefore follows the trajectory of the story. At various points of the analyses, certain languaging resources or the teacher’s interview comments about them send me on tangents away from the story into teaching scenarios in other classrooms or sometimes onto unexpected analytical paths. These tangents mostly serve to unsettle languageS, to illuminate details of teachers’ knowledge that informs their classroom languaging, to highlight practices that are shared by teachers at Khayelitsha Primary or to situate their classroom language practices in the wider institutional dynamics of South African education. However, I always return to the story to let it guide me into the next analysis.

I intend for the readers to follow the teacher’s (re)languaging throughout one lesson, putting themselves into her shoes while she nudges the learners – and us – into understanding the story’s content and into englishing. On this journey, the focus is on providing in-depth insights into the particular ensemble of linguistic possibilities – the spatial repertoire – of the Khayelitshan English classroom during a specific activity, and into how the teacher strategically orders such possibilities via relanguaging.

4.1.2 How to relanguage a story and what to expect in this chapter

My starting point in this analytical experiment is the conceptualisation of the classroom repertoire as heterogeneous, with the Khayelitshan repertoire and the statist repertoire of Standard English folded into each other (2.3.2). Starting from this heterogeneous ensemble of linguistic possibilities, the relanguaging moves with which the teacher orders it have to be explained. To illustrate and exemplify what relanguaging means in this part of the lesson, it is helpful to look at a snippet from a lesson transcript that will be analysed in detail in 4.5.1:

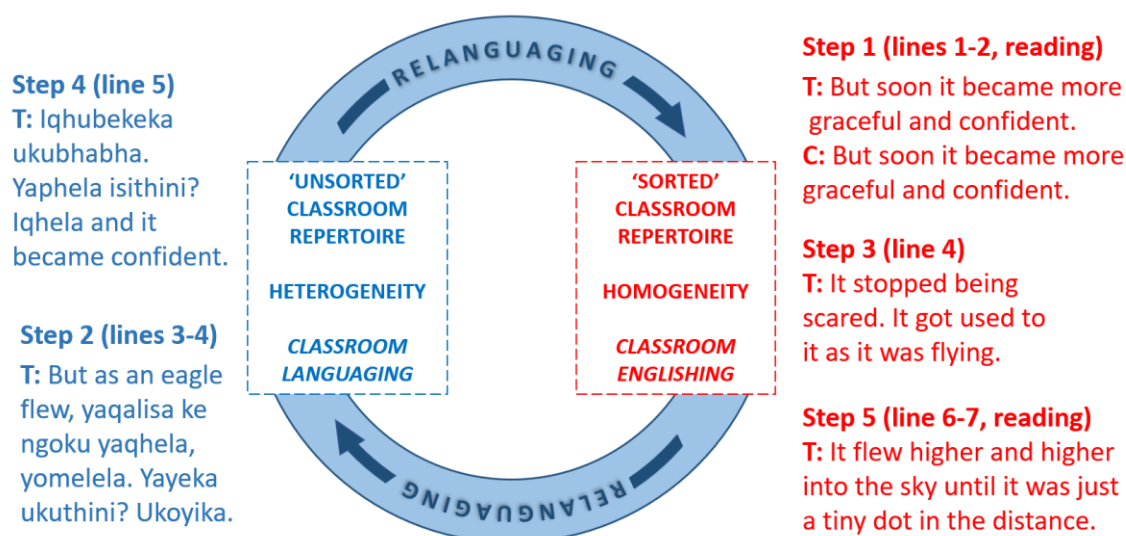
- 1 **T: But soon it became more graceful and confident.**
- 2 **C: But soon it became more graceful and confident.**

- 3 T: But as an eagle flew, yaqalisa ke ngoku yaqhela, yomelela. Yayeka
 4 ukuthini? Ukoyika. It stopped being scared. It got used to it as it was flying.
 5 Iqhubekeka ukubhabha. Yaphela isithini? Iqhela and it became confident.
 6 **It flew higher and higher into the sky until it was just a tiny dot in the**
 7 **distance.**

The **bold print** in line 1 shows the SWE from the story as read by the teacher. Her reading can be described as a form of englishing that is immediately determined by the teaching material – a reshaping of SWE into oral englishing. In line 2, learners repeat in a class chorus what the teacher had read. This chorus englishing is a direct imitation of the teacher – the learners don't need to read and turn SWE into oral englishing, they need to listen and repeat. The normal print from line 3-5 then shows the relanguaged version of this part of the story that in itself contains classroom languaging – where there is no watchfulness towards the boundaries of Standard English – and englishing, which instantiates a homogenised repertoire (line 4). The **bold print** (line 5-7) then shows the teacher reading the next sentence from the story. The class chorus will then repeat and this particular reading activity will continue in the same sequential order.

The by now familiar circle ([2.4](#)) can illustrate what goes on in this sequence in terms of relanguaging:

Circle IV³⁹



Step 1: We see **relanguaging as sorting out (line 1-2)**. As the teacher reads from the Standard English story and the learners repeat, the classroom repertoire gets relanguaged – *sorted* so to speak – and thereby balanced towards Standard English and linguistic homogeneity. The resources from the textbook play a big role in this homogenising move, because all the teacher has to do in order to tilt the balance of the classroom repertoire towards Standard English is to read from the story.

Step 2: We see **relanguaging as bringing together (line 3-4)** that begins from the homogenised language of the story that had taken centre stage for a moment. The teacher then entangles the resources from the story with others from the classroom repertoire, not adhering to the boundaries of Standard English. Thereby she balances the classroom repertoire towards its heterogeneous starting point.

Step 3: We see **relanguaging again as sorting out (line 4)** but this time the teacher does not revert to the language from the story. Rather, she assembles more easily accessible Standard English resources to demonstrate englishing while clarifying content.

³⁹ The relanguaging circles in the data analyses will be hyperlinked, so that when I refer to relanguaging moves (Steps) significantly further along in the chapter, the reader can jump back to the relevant circle. Hyperlinked, clickable 'Steps' will be underlined.

Step 4: We see **relinguaging again as *bringing together* (line 5)** as the teacher reentangles resources from the story (like ‘became’ and ‘confident’) with others from the classroom repertoire, not restricting herself to the boundaries of Standard English.

Step 5: The circle repeats as we see **relinguaging again as *sorting out* (line 6-7)** via the chorus reading activity, as described under **Step 1**.

This is a necessarily schematic representation that exemplifies what we will get to see throughout this chapter in terms of relanguaging as a linguistic ordering process in space, ignoring for now the details that constitute it. Those details will now become the focus in this chapter, as well as the situated institutional and social dynamics they are entangled in and co-constituted by. I will emphasise the role that Khayelitshan morphology plays in this activity in the English classroom. The upcoming analytical deep-dives into these small linguistic elements will reveal the Khayelitshan English classroom to be a space of specific linguistic possibilities that remain invisible to reductionist, statist analyses. By paying attention to linguistic detail and by ‘following features and asking teachers’ I will show that, in Khayelitsha, the ability to teach – but also to learn – how to english rests on the ability to relanguage. This skill of teachers and learners, however, remains hidden from educational administrators (and linguists) who see like a state and it can therefore not be tested or be otherwise accounted for as it stands.

The very notion of relanguaging will also become more complex throughout this chapter. For example it will turn out that linguistic hetero- and homogeneity do not necessarily constitute the threshold at which this sorting practice emerges. It can also occur, as we will see, within the confines of a homogenised, statist repertoire at the threshold of what are likely inaccessible and likely accessible Standard English resources for learners (e.g. [4.5.6](#)). The insight that linguistic hetero- and homogeneity are not always an analytically relevant dichotomy, which I here gain through detailed empirical investigations, marks the point where analysts stop linguistically seeing like a state. This chapter in some ways traces my own journey as an analyst towards that point.

Before I now dive into the linguistic fine grain of classroom language practices, the Grade 5 teacher gives us some background about the reading activity that dominates

this lesson and – in the process – about the linguistic resources she thinks her learners (don't) have access to.

4.1.3 Learners who seldom go to the malls

With regard to the structure of the reading activity I was quite impressed with how the learners would always know when exactly to start their group chorusing. Chick has also noted the often “remarkably rhythmic manner” with which teachers and learners synchronise such “chorusing sequences” (Chick, 1996, pp. 29–30). He argues that

such interactional synchrony is possible, presumably, because the teacher and her students are able to draw on their shared, implicit knowledge of the discourse conventions associated with conventional interactional styles (Chick, 1996, p. 30).

While this style of verbal interaction is certainly conventionalised for reading activities across classrooms at the school, I was still interested in how the teacher herself would explain the rationale behind this practice. We therefore played a sequence from this lesson to her in interview and asked her about it.

| Interview Excerpt a⁴⁰ | |
|---|--|
| T = Teacher | R1 = Researcher 1 (Lara Krause, author) R2 = Researcher 2 (Tessa Dowling, supervisor) |

- 1 **R1:** How do they [the learners] manage to read in a choir really on point? They have
- 2 a rhythm...
- 3 **T:** I train them. As I have said before. I speak in a rhythm in class. Because if I can
- 4 just walk inside the class: “Hello Grade 5 how are you today bla bla bla [speaking
- 5 very fast],” they won't understand, because they don't speak English at home. And
- 6 they are not exposed to English speaking people. They stay in Khayelitsha full
- 7 time. I think they seldom go to the malls [in Cape Town]. They use this mall [in
- 8 Khayelitsha]. So I try by all means to speak in a rhythm and I train them that when
- 9 they speak, even when they speak their language they must speak slowly,
- 10 especially in class.

⁴⁰ Interview excerpts are numbered with lower-case letters and transcripts of classroom data with capitals.

The teacher here confirms what many studies of classroom interaction in South Africa and other post-colonial settings have found, namely that chorusing activities and other ‘safe-talk’ is a common strategy to cope with the discrepancy between the LoLT and the language practices that teachers and learners control with some fluency (Chick, 1996; Kapp, 2004; McKinney et al., 2015). This is, however, not my main reason for quoting this excerpt here. Her response also shows how she sees languaging as a spatial practice, since she connects the languaging resources that her learners can or cannot access to the spaces they (don’t) language in regularly:

- the ‘home’ in Khayelitsha where learners do not english (a5-a7)
- the ‘malls’ in Cape Town’s more immediate surroundings where people do english (a7)
- and ‘this mall’ in Khayelitsha where nobody englishes (a7-a8)

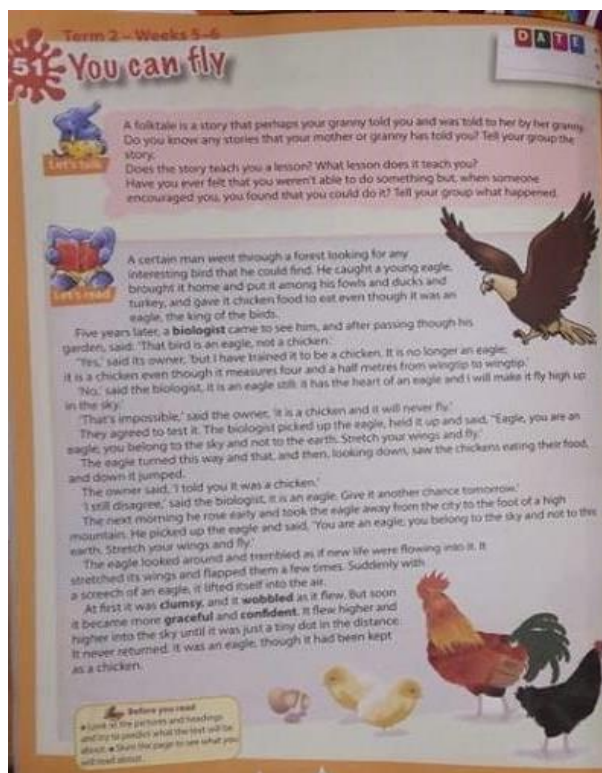
In her view, space therefore has an important impact on how her learners language, influencing the linguistic resources they can understand and have access to. Framing this in terms of spatial repertoires means that the learners are able to actualise the linguistic possibilities of their home and lifeworld in Khayelitsha. However, they rarely move in and through spaces – like the malls in Cape Town – with different ensembles of linguistic possibilities that might intersect some more with the statist repertoire of Standard English and feature less of the language resources characteristic for Khayelitsha. These shopping centres outside of Khayelitsha are examples for the spaces where learners would become ‘exposed to English speaking people’ but they ‘seldom’ go there. This makes Khayelitshan English classrooms different from Cape Town’s inner-city or suburban classrooms that are embedded in a network of englishing spaces that bring learners – regardless of their language background – into contact with this practice regularly. There, in contrast to Khayelitsha, exposure to englishing is then not limited to the school environment but also occurs in other spaces of interaction.

Against this background, when actualising the classroom repertoire, the teacher at Khayelitsha Primary therefore chooses strategies that, in her view, give learners a real chance to understand and follow the lesson under these circumstances. In this case,

this leads to a slow, repetitive and rhythmic reading activity with chorusing sequences and extensive mediation. I now turn to the details of the classroom repertoire that emerges in this lesson.

4.2 Looking for interesting birds and interesting linguistic features

4.2.1 *Animals unsettling language*



The lesson begins with the teacher drawing the learners' attention to the pictures allocated around the text of the story in the book (Baker, de Vos et al., 2012, p. 51). She asks what the learners see on the pictures, making them focus on these visual resources that form part of the classroom repertoire during this activity. Some learners raise their hands and verbalise – or one could say 'language' – these pictures along the lines of 'I see the chicken,' 'I see the egg,' and 'I see the eagle' (Grade 5 English Lesson

16.05.2016). The format of these short subject-verb-object sentences is quite representative for learner contributions in English classrooms in situations where the teacher's language policy is English-only – this is not always the case, as we will come to see. There is rarely an occasion where learners would experiment with more complex constructions. What we can take from these responses is that at least some learners in the classroom are familiar with the animal names that will feature in the story – such as 'chicken' and 'eagle' – and that these resources are available in the classroom repertoire.

After this short warm-up, the teacher begins the reading activity described above, while the learners have their books in front of them. I now zoom into selected parts of this activity.

| Lesson Transcript A | |
|---|---|
| T = Teacher C = Class L = Learner (individual) | bold print = language as read from the story normal print = classroom languaging / englishing <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> <u>[underlined]</u> = <u>[body languaging]</u> ⁴¹ |

- 1 **T:** A certain man went through a forest, looking for any interesting bird that he
2 could find. Please read after me.
- 3 **C:** A certain man went through a forest, looking for any interesting bird that he
4 could find.
- 5 **T:** He caught a young eagle, brought it home and put it among his fowls and
6 ducks and turkey and gave it chicken food to eat, even though it was an eagle,
7 the king of birds.
- 8 **C:** [reading after teacher]
- 9 **T:** What is an eagle in Xhosa? What is an eagle? Yes?
- 10 **L:** Ukhozi (*Eagle*).
- 11 **T:** Ukhozi! The king of birds. The bird that can fly up high. It is the only bird that
12 can fly up high, that's why they call it 'the king of birds'. The story is talking
13 about a man who was looking for any interesting bird. The word 'interesting'
14 means, 'into enikisa umdla' (*something that gives interest*). Kubhalwa efuna ke
15 le ntaka, azokuyifuya any [expansive arm gesture] ntaka that is interesting (*It's*
16 *written that he wants this bird, he will breed any bird that is interesting*). Noba
17 yeyiphi intlobo yentaka eyayizomnika ntoni? Umdla (*No matter which type of*
18 *bird that will be what? Interesting*). **He caught a young eagle, brought it home**
19 **and put it among his fowls.** When we talk about the fowls, sithetha ngeenkuku
20 ezithiwani? Ezifuywayo apha ekhaya (*When we talk about the fowls, we talk*
21 *about chicken that are what? That are bred here at home*).

The teacher's reading can be seen as the first step in her relanguaging strategy. Teachers remark often that learners "can't read" (Interview Grade 4 Teacher) or at

⁴¹ For now this describes any non-verbal, embodied resources actualised from the classroom repertoire. I will discuss in more detail in [5.3.5](#) how such resources could also be described within the languaging vocabulary I develop in this thesis.

least struggle a lot when it comes to reading by themselves. In their written form, the Standard English resources in the classroom repertoire might therefore be inaccessible to many learners. By transforming Standard Written English (henceforth: SWE) into englishing the teacher tilts the classroom repertoire not only towards Standard English but also towards the oral. Learners can now imitate her when reading, rather than relying on the visual clues of SWE alone.

After reading the first two sentences, the teacher's question in A9 ('What is 'eagle' in Xhosa?') aims explicitly at *bringing together* Standard English with other elements of the classroom repertoire and a learner responds with 'ukhozi' ([A9-A10](#)). In cooperation with the learners, the teacher now starts assembling and validating a more heterogeneous classroom repertoire, signalling a space that is inclusive of linguistic flexibility in this activity, instead of a restriction to Standard English. In this space, 'ukhozi' is now an available and also *legitimised* resource for meaning making.

I have promised in the beginning to ask unsettling questions – at least with regard to languageS. So, is 'ukhozi' actually a Khayelitsha resource and, for that matter, a likely familiar one for most learners? Thinking in terms of languageS as analytical reference points when analysing linguistic resources, this question would not come up at all. LanguageS, in the administrative logic of the state, are attached to territories and population groups: These children live in Khayelitsha, Khayelitsha is categorised as a predominantly Xhosa-speaking area, therefore, the children speak Xhosa. 'Ukhozi', then, is a Xhosa word – a part of the linguistically and administratively defined set of resources that counts as Standard Xhosa – and therefore the learners know it. It is part of their 'first language', 'home language' or 'mother-tongue'.

But learners' languaging in some questions they ask towards the end of this lesson – seemingly very interested in what an eagle eats – show more accurately how they normally talk about animals in Khayelitsha. For example a learner asks:

Ieagle iyayitya iandaconda? (*Does the eagle eat an anaconda?*)

Another question was:

Miss, ieagle abantwana becrocodile ibatya xa besandoqgiba ukuphuma phantsi komhlaba? (*Miss, does the eagle eat the children of a crocodile as they are coming out of the earth?*)

The learners here prefer to use ‘ieagle’ – which the teacher also sometimes uses in the lesson as we will see – but also for other animal names like ‘anaconda’ and ‘crocodile’ that had not surfaced from the classroom repertoire before, they do not use Standard Xhosa resources. Animal names are a word field that illustrates well how we can be misguided in our assumptions regarding the linguistic resources learners have access to if we analytically attach words to languageS. An encounter during a different research project conducted by Tessa Dowling, this time in a rural area in the Eastern Cape, illustrates this point further. She was interested in which noun class prefixes young speakers would use for certain nouns, one of which was the Standard Xhosa word for tortoise (*ufudo*). The exchange below ensues when she shows a young girl, who would self-identify as Xhosa speaking, a picture of a tortoise and asks:

Researcher: Usibiza njani esi silwanyana? (*How do you call this animal?*)

Girl: Uskolpati (*Tortoise*).

Researcher: Awulazi igama elithi ‘ufudo’? (*Don’t you know the word ‘ufudo’?*)

Girl: Inoba ligama lenu lesiNgesi? (*Could it be that it is your English word?*)⁴²

The girl’s response ‘Uskolpati,’ is the word for tortoise that is conventionally associated with Afrikaans: ‘skilpad’. The Standard Xhosa word for tortoise found in traditional Xhosa folk tales and in dictionaries is ‘ufudo’, but as the exchange shows the girl is not familiar with this word and even wonders whether it might be English. This little anecdote shows that, when conceptualising language in terms of spatial repertoires, we can see that ‘uskolpati’ is, and ‘ufudo’ is not, an element of this girl’s routinised language practices, since the latter is not part of the ensembles of linguistic possibilities that she regularly actualises.

This additional information then opens up new ways of looking at the collaborative relanguaging of ‘eagle’ into ‘ukhozi’ at the beginning of this lesson. Instead of connecting the Standard English resource ‘eagle’ to a more familiar one (‘ukhozi’), for some learners the opposite might be true and ‘eagle’ might be the more and ‘ukhozi’

⁴² Unpublished research obtained through personal communication with Tessa Dowling.

the less familiar resource at play. To them in fact, the teacher might rather be teaching a Standard Xhosa vocabulary item instead of clarifying a Standard English one. In this case, Standard Xhosa would here briefly pop up as a relevant linguistic ordering principle in the classroom as well. In general, however, the animal examples illustrate that what is folded into each other in the English classroom as ordering principles during oral activities like this one is normally Standard English and Khayelitshan languaging, and not Standard Xhosa (see [2.3.2](#)). Otherwise the teacher would insist on learners using the Standard Xhosa terms for animals in their responses but instead, once released from English-only, she allows them to language freely, without being restricted by having to be watchful towards *another* standard language.

This little example can serve to illustrate the inadequacy of constructs such as L1 and L2 to capture language use in language teaching in Khayelitsha. It also supports the findings of other scholars who show that the languageS relevant in South African schooling – and here I am referring in particular to the African languageS often used in early primary school and proclaimed to be children’s ‘mother-tongues’ – do not reflect the actual routinised language practices of learners (Banda, 2018; Ditsele, 2014; Dowling, 2011). Animals then also – like more examples to come throughout this thesis – illustrate the advantages of talking about Khayelitshan languaging instead of trying to make such languaging fit into a statist ‘Xhosa’ box that gives the impression of a standardised and bounded linguistic object.

4.2.2 Tracing the interesting ‘-ing’

Following the sequence analysed above, the teacher begins to clarify the content of the sentences from the story that had been read before. I focus here on lines A12-A18, where the teacher’s linguistic mediation aims at giving the learners access to the meaning of the word ‘interesting’ as used in: **‘A certain man went through a forest, looking for any interesting bird that he could find’** ([A1-A2](#)).

Repetition of Lesson Transcript A (A11-A18)

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | normal print = classroom languaging / englishing |
| C = Class | (<i>italics</i>) = (<i>englishing added by the author</i>) |
| L = Learner (individual) | [<u>underlined</u>] = [<u>body languaging</u>] |

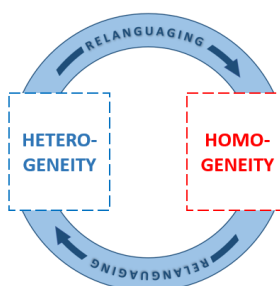
- 11 **T:** Ukhozi! The king of birds. The bird that can fly up high. It is the only bird that
 12 can fly up high, that's why they call it 'the king of birds'. The story is talking
 13 about a man who was looking for any interesting bird. The word 'interesting'
 14 means, 'into enikisa umdla'. Kubhalwa efuna ke le ntaka, azokuyifuya any
 15 [expansive arm gesture] ntaka that is interesting (*It's written that he wants this*
 16 *bird, he will breed any bird that is interesting*). Noba yeyiphi intlobo yentaka
 17 eyayizomnika ntoni? Umdla (*No matter which type of bird that will be what?*
 18 *Interesting*).

An illustration via the by now familiar circle⁴³ can illustrate the processes of relanguaging happening between A12 and A17:

Circle V

Step 2 (A13-A17)

T: The word 'interesting' means 'into enikisa umdla'. Kubhalwa efuna ke le ntaka, azokuyifuya any [expansive arm gesture] ntaka that is interesting. Noba yeyiphi intlobo yentaka eyayizomnika ntoni? Umdla.



Step 1 (A12-A13)

T: The story is talking about a man who was looking for any interesting bird.

In A12-A13 she summarises – by assembling a homogenised repertoire (**Step 1**) – that 'the story is talking about a man who was looking for any interesting bird' and then brings together a variety of resources from the classroom repertoire (**Step 2**) when

⁴³ Where possible I will use a smaller, simplified relanguaging circle to make it easier to focus on the text of the examples. For the most detailed version of the circle refer to [2.4.3](#).

trying to shed light on the adjective ‘interesting’. She relanguages ‘interesting’ in A14 with the noun phrase ‘into enikisa umdla’, made up of the noun ‘into’ (*thing*) followed by the direct relative clause ‘enikisa umdla’ (*which gives interest*). When continuing her mediation, she uses ‘interesting’ (A15) as well as a variation of ‘into enikisa umdla’ (A17), with the effect that both, the targeted Standard English resource and the familiar Khayelitshan resources, are assembled in the classroom repertoire, folded into each other and available as co-constitutive elements for meaning-making and vocabulary learning.

The teacher’s focus on the word ‘interesting’ suggests that she deems it unlikely to be familiar to the learners. I wondered why she would focus so extensively on this word. But since my interest emerged at later stages of the data analysis, no direct teacher comment is available on this point. I suggest, however, that by following a few linguistic clues we can gain insight into why the word ‘interesting’ warrants such elaboration and is indeed a difficult candidate for learners to make meaning of. Not only is it expressed very differently in Khayelitshan languaging, using the noun ‘umdla’ (*interest*): something can either ‘give interest’ (*-nikisa umdla*) or ‘be with interest’ (*-ba nomdla*). More important, however, is the potential confusion caused by the suffix ‘-ing’. Let us follow this feature a little bit:

From my classroom observations in Grade 4 (the grade immediately preceding this one) I know that in English class learners are taught ‘-ing’ as a feature of verbs in the present continuous tense. I for example recorded the Grade 4 teacher asking: “Which is the doing word okanye iverb (*or the verb*)? Which is the doing word?” when referring to a sentence that was discussed in class and that itself featured a verb in the present continuous tense. Her definition of the verb itself as a ‘doing word’ features the suffix ‘-ing’. This connection between ‘-ing’ and ‘doing things’ is again emphasised by several of the teacher’s comments during the same lesson along the lines of: “Throwing is a doing word” (Grade 4 English Lesson 1.2.2016), and sentences featuring verbs with ‘-ing’ are then repeated several times with emphasis on ‘-ing’, manifesting the connection. The writing data that I will discuss in chapter 6 also shows that many learners know how to assemble the feature ‘-ing’ into present continuous verb forms in sentences like: ‘The boy is swimming,’ or ‘The boy is vuking.’⁴⁴ An

⁴⁴ The verb stem ‘-vuk-’ can be englished as ‘wake up’.

adjective like *interesting*, could therefore easily prompt the learners to think of an activity rather than a quality, because here the feature ‘-ing’ does not do what it normally does, namely indicating the present continuous tense that the learners have been taught to assemble not too long ago.

The example of ‘-ing’ shows how, in order to gain insights into the complexity of a local linguistic situation and to make explicit the knowledge and motivation that might underlie situated classroom language practices, it can be useful for the analyst to follow an object (Latour, 2005) – in this case a specific linguistic feature – across different spaces and activities. In this case doing so shows that describing ‘interesting’ as an unfamiliar word might be undercomplex. It is more accurately described as an assemblage of the familiar Standard English feature ‘-ing’ in a new constellation that could cause some confusion. Tracing and finding linguistic resources in different spaces is also a productive method to make sense of the last part of Lesson Transcript A that I look at below. In this case the teacher helps us with the tracing.

4.2.3 Finding *-fuya* in *Khayelitsha*

| Repetition of Lesson Transcript A (A14-A21) | |
|---|--|
| T = Teacher | bold print = language as read from the story |
| C = Class | normal print = classroom languaging / englishing |
| L = Learner (individual) | <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |
| | <u>[underlined]</u> = <u>[body languaging]</u> |

- 14 T: [...] interesting means, into enikisa umdla. Kubhalwa efuna ke le ntaka,
 15 azokuyifuya any [expansive arm gesture] ntaka that is interesting (*It's written that*
 16 *he wants this bird, he will breed any bird that is interesting*). Noba yeyiphi intlobo
 17 yentaka eyayizomnika ntoni? Umdla (*No matter which type of bird that will be*
 18 *what? Interesting*). **He caught a young eagle, brought it home and put it**
 19 **among his fowls.** When we talk about the fowls, sithetha ngeenkuku ezithiwani?
 20 Ezifuywayo apha ekhaya (*When we talk about the fowls, we talk about chicken*
 21 *that are what? That are bred here at home*).

When we played this sequence for stimulated recall we first asked the teacher about her use of the verb ‘-fuya’ (*breed*) in *azokuyifuya* (A15) and *ezifuywayo* (A20).

| Interview Excerpt b | |
|---------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | R1 = Researcher 1 (Lara Krause, author) R2 = Researcher 2 (Tessa Dowling, supervisor) |

- 1 **R1:** I'm learning Xhosa for example and I've for example never heard the word
- 2 ukufuya, right? So do you think all the learners understand that word?
- 3 **T:** In English or in Xhosa?
- 4 **R1:** In Xhosa when you say 'ezifuywayo apha ekhaya'.
- 5 **T:** Yes they do understand it.
- 6 **R1:** Do you think they know it from where they come from or is it used also here, like
- 7 in the urban?
- 8 **T:** It is used yah in their everyday life. Because some of the parents have the goats,
- 9 the chicken. They know that ‘umama ufuy’ iinkuku’ (*mother breeds chicken*) and
- 10 so on.
- 11 **R2:** So ligama eliqhelekileyo (*So it is a common word*).
- 12 **T:** Ligama (*it is a word*) that they hear almost every day. Even if they don't have
- 13 iinkuku (*chicken*) here in Cape Town but in the Eastern Cape they know.

The first thing to note is that if we were guided by an analytical lens that attaches words to languageS we would not have asked this question about ‘-fuya’ in the first place. We would have taken for granted that learners know it, because ‘it is Xhosa’ and ‘Xhosa is their L1’. For us, however, this verb seemed unlikely to be part of the Khayelitshan repertoire, because we connected it to rural farming activities rather than to township life. But from the teacher we learn that the physical presence of animals like goats and chicken (b8-b10), urban farming activities, and the fact that many learners come from, or have family ties to, the rural Eastern Cape explain that ‘-fuya’ features in the linguistic inventory of Khayelitsha and is available as a resource in the English classroom.

What the teacher tells us about ‘-fuya’ and its usage history in Khayelitsha and the Eastern Cape also helps in understanding exactly what this verb affords the teacher

here. Nowhere in the original text of the story is there any talk of ‘breeding’. Rather, the man is said to have ‘caught’ the eagle and ‘put’ it among his fowls. I argue that ‘-fuya’ here is a key word in the teacher’s classroom languaging that accomplishes two things in this short sequence:

1. In [A15](#) ‘-fuya’ helps to frame a somewhat odd and distant activity of catching birds in a forest within the context of a familiar activity of breeding animals that learners often observe in their immediate surroundings. A Standard English resource like ‘breed’ would not have had the same agency in her languaging, because, even if some learners might know it, it has not accompanied them through the relevant activities and spaces and therefore could not have gained the same meaning for them.
2. In [A20](#) the teacher then enrolls ‘-fuya’ for teaching the new vocabulary item ‘fowls’. She says: ‘When we talk about the fowls, sithetha ngeenkuku ezithiwani? Ezifuywayo apha ekhaya’ (*When we talk about the fowls, we talk about chicken that are what? That are bred here at home*). Here, ‘-fuya’ helps the teacher to point out that ‘fowls’ in fact denote particular types of chicken – those that are bred at home, or domesticated. The verb affords the teacher to shed light on quite a nuanced distinction between two Standard English resources: chicken and fowls.

The case of ‘-fuya’ shows how analytically attaching linguistic features to spatial repertoires makes us ask new questions, which can in turn make visible the agency of particular languaging resources in their own right. Throughout this chapter I will illustrate with more examples why it is analytically distracting to attach words to languageS, while a spatial orientation can further our understanding of situated classroom languaging. For now, I want to draw attention to another strategy of teaching vocabulary that we can read from Lesson Transcript A.

4.2.4 Accessing Standard English ‘any’ way

In [A14-A15](#) the teacher says: ‘Kubhalwa efuna ke le ntaka, azokuyifuya any [expansive arm gesture] ntaka that is interesting’ (*It’s written that he wants this bird, he will breed any bird that is interesting*). We now wanted to know how she views her use of the word ‘any’ – a Standard English resource from the story – that she assembles

with a variety of other resources from the classroom repertoire. We asked the teacher in interview why she thinks she used it at this point in front of ‘intaka’ (*bird*). She replies:

Sometimes I use the words just so that they can understand how to use it or they, they understand the meaning of that word. Because as I teach, I also use my body language: ‘any’ [making expansive arm gesture similar to what she did in class] (Interview Grade 5 English Teacher).

Body languaging is indeed often part of her teaching with which she tries to keep the learners interested and focused during the lesson. In this case the expansive gesture is a specific clue to help learners understand the word ‘any’. In fact, it could be argued – as I will do more extensively in [5.3.5](#) – that her gesture is just another languaging resource from the classroom repertoire, which she enrolls to relanguage ‘any’. Her comment further reveals that she deems it possible for learners to disassemble ‘any’ from the Khayelitshan resources it is surrounded by in her classroom languaging, grasp its meaning and ‘understand how to use it’ as a Standard English resource. In her view, it seems perfectly possible to infer the meaning of ‘any’ from ‘Kubhalwa efuna ke le ntaka, azokuyifuya any [expansive arm gesture] ntaka that is interesting,’ as she relies on her learners to dis- and reassemble languaging resources, make sense of them in new combinations and learn Standard English vocabulary in the process.

We begin to see that this teacher’s classroom might be a space where “English language teaching can escape its narrow vision of itself as a monolingual enterprise, as a place where English is taught only in its own presence” (Pennycook, 2010, p. 141). Rather, by *bringing together* the Standard English resources from the story with various others into a heterogeneous classroom repertoire through her relanguaging, the teacher exploits linguistic (and semiotic) fluidity and heterogeneity to provide learners with points of access into the statist repertoire of Standard English. Linguistic homogeneity and heterogeneity are not mutually exclusive in this space but engaged in a productive push-and-pull relationship and heterogeneous classroom languaging might well be assembled with an eye on Standard English. I find it therefore misleading to describe such language practices as translanguaging, suggesting that linguistic heterogeneity means always a transcendence or an unwatchfulness towards, rather than a negotiation of, linguistic fixity. More complex accounts are necessary that are not stuck on either side of an alleged binary between linguistic hetero- and homogeneity (see also Jaspers & Madsen, 2019; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010). To find

more such negotiation processes at the threshold of hetero- and homogeneity we have to see what happens next in the story of the eagle.

4.3 Seeing morphemes guide the change into a chicken

4.3.1 *It was going to sound like a poem*

After having caught the bird, the man keeps it with his chicken and feeds it chicken food. The eagle never attempts to fly, presumably because the chicken around it don't fly. One day, after five years, a biologist walks through the man's garden and spots the eagle amongst the chicken. He is shocked and says to the man that this bird is not a chicken but an eagle. It then says in the story: '**Yes, said its owner, but I have trained it to be a chicken.**' At this point, the following transcribed teaching sequence (Lesson Transcript B) starts, with the class repeating this sentence that the teacher read out before. This is a sequence we have also played in full for the teacher in the interview, in order for her to comment on it.

| Lesson Transcript B | |
|--------------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | bold print = language as read from the story |
| C = Class | normal print = classroom languaging / englishing |
| L = Learner (individual) | <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |
| | <u>[underlined]</u> = <u>[body languaging]</u> |

- 1 **C: Yes, said its owner, but I have trained it to be a chicken.**
- 2 **T: It is no longer an eagle, it is a chicken, even though it measures four and a**
- 3 **half meters from wingtip to wingtip.**
- 4 **C:** [reading after teacher]
- 5 **T:** The man agreed, yes, it is an eagle, **but I have trained it to be a chicken.**
- 6 Sendiyiqeqeshile ngoba mayitshintshe ibe yintoni? Inkuku (*I have already trained*
- 7 *it because it should change into what? A chicken*). Maybe yinkuku, ingabi saba
- 8 ieagle (*It shall be a chicken, it shall no longer be an eagle*). He says it is no longer
- 9 ukhozi (*an eagle*). Ayiselulo ukhozi, ngoku seyintoni? Seyichicken (*It is no*
- 10 *longer an eagle, now it is already what? It's already a chicken*). Why? Because I
- 11 have trained it. Ndiyitrainile kuba mayiyeke ukuba lukhozi, ibe yichicken (*I have*
- 12 *trained it because it shall stop being an eagle and be a chicken*). For five years, a

- 13 man has kept this eagle with the chicken, so that it will change its ways of being
 14 the eagle to a, to become a chicken.

Before diving into the morphological details to see what exactly they accomplish here, we can look at this sequence again in terms of the teacher's main relanguaging moves from B5-B14:

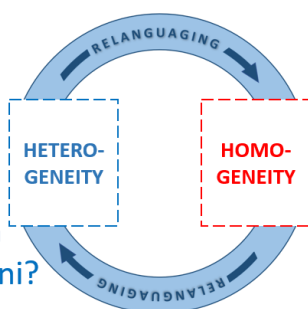
Circle VI

Step 4 (B11)

Ndiyitrainile kuba
 mayiyeke ukuba
 lukhozi, ibe yichicken.

Step 2 (B6-B9)

Sendiyiqeqeshile ngoba
 mayitshintshe ibe yintoni?
 Inkuku. Mayibe yinkuku,
 ingabi saba ieagle. He says
 it is no longer ukhozi.
 Ayiselulo ukhozi, ngoku
 seyintoni? Seyichicken.



Step 1 (B5)

The man agreed,
 yes, it is an eagle,
 but I have trained
 it to be a chicken.

Step 3 (B10-B11)

Why? Because I have
 trained it.

Step 5 (B12-B14)

For five years, a man has
 kept this eagle with the
 chicken, so that it will change
 its ways of being the eagle to
 a, to become a chicken.

Step 1 instantiates a sorted, homogenised classroom repertoire as the teacher englishes and in part repeats a sentence from the story: ‘...but I have trained it to be a chicken’ (B1 & B5). This sentence, together with ‘It is no longer an eagle, it is a chicken...’ (B2) is also what then gets relanguaged into heterogeneous classroom languaging in **Step 2**. Then the teacher homogenises the classroom repertoire again, returning closely to the language resources from the story in **Step 3**, to then bring these resources together again with others from the classroom repertoire in **Step 4**. Then she englishes a summary of the important points from this sequence, tilting the balance of the classroom repertoire towards linguistic homogeneity again in **Step 5**.

These relanguaging processes from B5-B14 therefore mainly revolve around two statements made by the eagle's owner in the story:

- (i) I have trained it to be a chicken.

(ii) It is no longer an eagle, it is a chicken...

In the remainder of this subchapter (4.3) I discuss what exactly the linguistic (mostly morphological) features the teacher enrolls here afford her, as she tries to make her class understand these two statements that are important for the story.

Learners who are at the proficiency level that the curriculum presupposes for Grade 5 EFAL might be able to pick up that the owner's training is the reason why the eagle is no longer an eagle and that the animal had been subtly forced into becoming a chicken by being kept and treated like one. The sequence of events would be clear through the use of the perfect tense in 'I have trained it,' and the present tense in 'It is a chicken,' indicating that the training is over and the eagle is now a chicken. For the learners in her classroom, however, as the teacher tells us in interview, these lines were

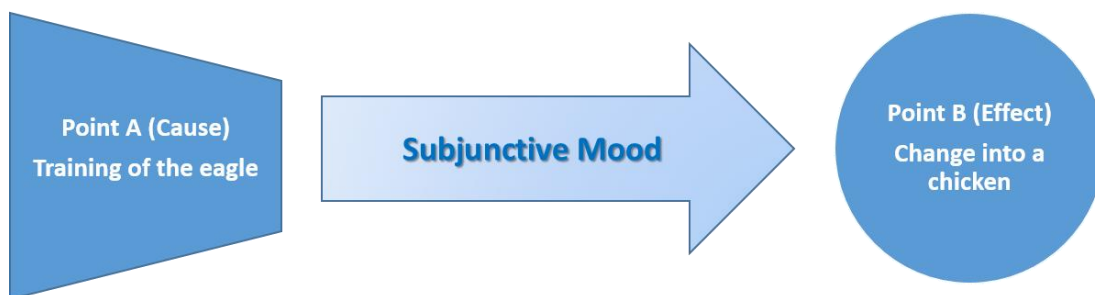
just not going to make any sense. 'It's no longer an eagle, it is now a chicken.'
Ok. It was going to sound like a poem maybe (Interview Grade 5 Teacher).

Her statement illustrates vividly how opaque she deems this language for the learners and how unlikely they are to arrive at a meaningful interpretation of what is happening at this point of the story. To make this Standard English 'poem' accessible without spending time on long explanations, the teacher relanguages it into heterogeneous classroom languaging (Step 2 & Step 4). The inaccessible resources here get entangled with a variety of morphological affordances from the classroom repertoire. Below I look into some of these affordances in detail.

4.3.2 'se-', '-ile', sequences and causes

Graphic A illustrates a timeline of the story, showing the essential causal connection over time between the act of training the eagle and its change into a chicken. As the teacher indicated above, most learners would not have been able to access this content without her help.

Graphic A



The following analysis first looks into how the employed tense and aspect morphology clarifies in which order the events unfold in the story. I start by describing the morphology the teacher uses to talk about the main event at Point A. Then I look at the subjunctive mood, which is represented by the arrow in the graphic, illustrating the sequence of events and the causal connection between Point A and B in the story. Lastly, I analyse the morphology used to describe the effects of the training at Point B.

| Repetition of Lesson Transcript B (B5-B12) | |
|--|--|
| T = Teacher | bold print = language as read from the story |
| C = Class | normal print = classroom languaging / englishing |
| L = Learner (individual) | <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |

- 5 **T:** The man agreed, yes, it is an eagle, but **I have trained it to be a chicken.**
6 Sendiyiqeqeshile ngoba mayitshintshe ibe yintoni? Inkuku (*I have already trained*
7 *it because it should change into what? A chicken*). Mayibe yinkuku, ingabi saba
8 ieagle. (*It shall be a chicken, it shall no longer be an eagle*). He says it is no longer
9 ukhozi (*an eagle*). Ayiselulo ukhozi, ngoku seyintoni? Seyichicken (*It is no*
10 *longer an eagle, now it is already what? It's already a chicken*). Why? Because I
11 have trained it. Ndiyitrainile kuba mayiyeke ukuba lukhozi, ibe yichicken (*I have*
12 *trained it because it shall stop being an eagle and be a chicken*).

In her relanguaged version of this part of the story the teacher adopts the voice of the eagle's owner when expanding on (i) 'I have trained it to be a chicken.' She starts by saying 'sendiyiqeqeshile' (B6), which features the following morphological components (see [Appendix A](#) for glossing conventions):

| | | | | | |
|------|-------|------|----------|------|------------------------------|
| se- | -ndi- | -yi- | -qeqesh- | -ile | |
| COMP | SM1P | OM9 | train | ANT | (I have already trained it.) |

The completive 'se-' in combination with the anterior (perfect) '-ile' indicates an action that has already been completed. Bantu linguists have described this combination as a common morphological constellation "where prefixes and finals combine to show tense-aspect" (Nurse & Philippson, 2003, p. 121). The final '-ile' adds more meaning relevant to this context, since it tends to be used for completed actions "whose consequences or relevance live on" (Nurse & Philippson, 2003, p. 125), which here applies to the training of the eagle ([Point A](#)). The consequence that the eagle is now a chicken ([Point B](#)) continues to be relevant throughout the story. 'Ndiyitrainile' in [B11](#) also features the suffix '-ile' and thereby marks the training as completed, while, however, putting less emphasis on this by not adding the completive 'se-'. The linguistic form of 'ndiyitrainile' and its connection to 'sendiyiqeqeshile' will receive more attention in a different context ([4.4.3](#)). For now, we see that the rich morphology with regard to tense and aspect prevalent in Khayelitshan languaging affords the teacher resources to create a clearer timeline for the learners, which in turn gives them a better chance to understand relations of cause and effect in the story. At this point they are now sure to know that the eagle had been trained in the past and that the effects of this training continue to be important in the present.

4.3.3 'ma-', connection and authority

The complexity of the language in the story makes it necessary for the teacher to break the narrative up into pieces. This, however, can disrupt the flow and the connections between events in the story. Via relanguaging the teacher is now reconnecting those events into a flowing sequence. For this purpose, after 'sendiyiqeqeshile' has established that the training of the eagle is completed and has an effect that will

continue to be relevant in the story, the teacher now relies heavily on the hortative ‘ma-’ and the subjunctive mood – both grammar affordances from the Khayelitshan repertoire that are available to the teacher and the learners in the English classroom. We will see that especially ‘ma-’, which she uses repeatedly in different constellations, helps her to redesign this sequence in some ways like a dramatic dialogue, creating a vivid picture for her learners of how, and with what authority, the owner has trained the eagle.

Find below the morphological make-up of the forms she uses after ‘sendiyiqeqeshile’ in [B6](#) where she says: ‘Sendiyiqeqeshile ngoba mayitshintshe ibe yintoni? Inkuku’ (*I have already trained it because it should change and become what? A chicken*).

| | | | | | |
|---------|------|------|------------|------|---|
| ngoba | -ma- | -yi- | -tshintsh- | -e | |
| because | HORT | SM9 | change | SUBJ | (... <i>because it should change ...</i>) |

| | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|------|-------|------|-------|---------------------------------------|
| i- | -b- | -e | y- | -in- | -to- | -ni? |
| SM9 | become | SUBJ | COP10 | NPx9 | thing | what? (... <i>and become what?</i>) |

| | |
|------|----------------------|
| In- | -kuku. |
| NPx9 | chicken (A chicken.) |

Firstly, the conjunction ‘ngoba’ (*because*) clarifies that the man trained the eagle with a particular intention. The teacher now expresses this intention using the hortative ‘ma-’ and the subjunctive mood. Pahl et al. call ‘ma-’ a ‘deficient verb’. They posit that it regularly forms part of commands and “*udla ngokubonakalisa ukugunyazisa*” (*is often used to show the exercise of authority*) (Pahl et al., 1971, p. 134). It is not used by itself but always attached to a verb in the subjunctive mood. ‘Sendiyiqeqeshile ngoba mayitshintshe...’ could be englished as: ‘I have trained it, because it should better change ...’

This construction here initiates a sequence of commands that is continued with ‘ibe’ (*and it should become*), which is a subjunctive form without ‘ma-’, followed by the rhetorical question: ‘yintoni?’ (*what?*) and the answer: ‘Inkuku’ (*A chicken*).

The subjunctive in Khayelitshan languaging is marked in the positive by the final vowel ‘-e’ and is described as “Uhlobo lolandelelwano” (*the mood of a sequence/series*), being a mood “ezichaza izenzeko ezilandelelanayo” (*which explains events that follow each other*) (Pahl et al., 1971, p. 131). The subjunctive occurs frequently in commands (Nurse & Philippson, 2003, p. 595) and, as Gough puts it, when it is used “there will be an assumption of conceptual connexity or continuity unless otherwise indicated” (1993, p. 39). ‘Sendiyiqeqeshile ngoba mayitshintshe ibe yintoni? Inkuku,’ can thus be englished like this: ‘I have trained it, because it should better change and become what? A chicken,’ with ‘and’ expressing lexically what the teacher here expresses via the subjunctive mood: the conceptual continuity between the command to change and the subsequent command to become a chicken.

When languaging in Khayelitsha, the learners connect sequential events through morphological changes in verbs (as in the subjunctive mood). They now have to learn that in Standard English such connections are made lexically through ‘and’, ‘and then’ or other conjunctions implying a sequence. From my own experience I can say that going the reverse route, from lexical to morphological expression of sequence, was one of the most difficult parts of learning to language in Khayelitsha. In turn, for these learners, conjunctions are not elements they routinely use to express sequence and I argue that enrolling Khayelitshan affordances like ‘ma-’ and the subjunctive from the classroom repertoire during this activity ensures that they follow the plot events.

We are still at the same point of the story, where the man tells the biologist that he has trained the eagle to be a chicken. This training and the change into a chicken have already been relanguaged once, as shown above. However, the teacher continues to clarify the same scenario in B7-B8 and B11-B12, using the same combination of the hortative ‘ma-’ expressing a command followed by a simple subjunctive.⁴⁵ All these versions of that combination express the same situation: the change from an eagle to a chicken. First it is framed as a command – or at least a wish – for the eagle to become a chicken and to no longer be an eagle ([B7-B8](#): ‘mayibe yichicken, ingabi saba ieagle’) and other times as a command to stop being an eagle ([B11-B12](#): ‘mayiyeke ukuba

⁴⁵ In the negative ([B7](#)) the subjunctive is marked by *-nga-* in tense aspect (T(A)) position after the subject marker, and by the final vowel *-i* (e.g. *ingabi*).

lukhozi, ibe yichicken’). However, through these repetitions, every framing of the eagle’s change is marked at least once by ‘ma-’.

I argue that ‘ma-’ is a grammatical affordance that formalises the ‘voice of authority’ of the eagle’s owner. Without ‘ma-’, learners would have had to understand this voice of authority from context and for the teacher to make it explicit via exclusively Standard English resources would have been rather laborious (e.g. ‘It should better change ... ’). ‘ma-’ is a sedimented feature of the Khayelitshan repertoire and is often used in commands in direct speech. In fact, the learners often addressed it to me when they wanted me to come with them, saying: “*Masihambe!*” (*Let’s go!*) Teachers also use ‘ma-’ in commands in class for example when instructing learners to open their books: “*Masivule iincwadi!*” (*Let’s open the books!*) The Grade 4 teacher also used ‘ma-’ when teaching the pronunciation of ‘-th-’ [ð] in ‘throwing’, saying: “*Masilume ulwimi!*” (*Let’s bite our tongue!*) (Grade 4 English Lesson 01.02.2016).

By using ‘ma-’ so frequently in her relanguaged version of this sequence, the teacher reshapes it into something close to a dramatic dialogue. While in the original story, the owner merely recounts to the biologist that he has trained the eagle to be a chicken, the teacher here lets the owner speak to the biologist, describing emphatically and repeatedly how and with what intention, and also with what authority, he has trained the eagle. In contrast to how reading activities in township schools are normally described in terms of rote-learning and chorus chanting (Chick, 1996; Kapp, 2004), I find that looking into their linguistic fine grain might uncover them to be quite dense and meaningful. I will discuss this point further over a different reading activity in [5.3.5](#).

4.3.4. Making visible morphological affordances and a didactics of explicitness

As the teacher put it so vividly, for her learners this part of the story “just wouldn’t make any sense. It would sound like a poem maybe” (Interview Teacher Grade 5 as quoted in [4.3.1](#)). I have shown up to now how the tense and aspect morphology in ‘sendiyiqeqeshile’ as well as ‘ma-’ and the subjunctive are the teacher’s morphological tools from the classroom repertoire to make part of this Standard English ‘poem’ accessible for the learners by showing how the training of the eagle ([Point A](#)) has led to the change into a chicken ([Point B](#)). Her use of the subjunctive drives the story

forward, connecting the unfolding events (Gough, 1993, p. 39) and allowing a clear timeline to emerge.

Sequence and causal connection of events in the story are, however, not the only things the teacher has clarified through her relanguaging. If we compare the meaning she managed to convey with ‘Sendiyiqeqeshile ngoba mayitshintshe ibe yintoni? Inkuku,’ with the original sentence from the story: **‘I have trained it to be a chicken’** ([Lesson Transcript B](#)), we see that neither the process of actual change of the eagle, nor the authority with which the man commands it to change, are explicitly formalised in the sentence in the story. This information is, however, essential for the learners to understand what kind of moral concerns might be hidden in this story, for example: Is it possible – and if so, is it morally sound – to force a living creature to change so drastically?

Without the teacher’s help, such nuances of meaning would have to be induced by the learners from the overall context of the story, to be read between the lines, so to speak. However, the language of the story is dense and complex. The teacher’s relanguaging practices show that she knows well that the learners at this stage do not have sufficient access to the necessary Standard English resources and can therefore neither decipher the concrete meaning of parts, nor the rough content of the whole story without her help. Especially the affordances of ‘ma-’ in this context help the teacher to build what I call a *didactics of explicitness* that brings out the nuances of the story that are otherwise likely to remain hidden from her learners. Such explicit-making strategies will become visible at various points throughout this thesis, as teachers implement them in several different ways.

Through her relanguaging the teacher brings together Khayelitshan affordances such as the tense and aspect morphology (‘se-’ and ‘-ile’), ‘ma-’ and the subjunctive mood with the Standard English of the story (e.g. ‘eagle’; ‘chicken’). This *bringing together* of heterogeneous resources in the classroom repertoire offers the learners additional resources to make meaning of this ‘poem’ in a less restricted linguistic space that allows for flexibility and fluidity in making sense of linguistic fixity. Canagarajah has argued that “since space is expansive, it provides resources for participants to construct alternate spaces within bounded and hegemonic places, to suit their interests” (2018, p. 47). It seems that we are observing the teacher doing exactly that – creating

possibilities that suit the interest of English teaching in a space that is also structured by strong prescriptions of monolingualism voiced by educational officials, school management and parents (2.2.1). Spatial repertoires offer the opportunity to resist such prescriptions, and resulting practices can also be subversive, as we will come to see in chapter 5.

The fine-grained linguistic details with which the teacher resists prescriptions of monolingualism, affordances like ‘ma-’, ‘-se-’ or ‘-ile’ in this case, are normally not ‘seen’ in studies on classroom translanguaging, because there it is not the minute linguistic detail that is of interest, but the fact that constructed language boundaries are not being adhered to in the first place. Jaspers and Madsen note that translanguaging – in similar ways to other new descriptors like metrolingualism (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015) and polylinguaging (Jørgensen et al., 2011) – makes us notice particular types of language practices (heterogeneous ones mostly), but often does not “help us to dive into the fray of their detailed interactional analysis” (2019, p. 11). I argue that the nuances of teachers’ linguistic strategies in the classroom can only be understood if we also make visible the nuances of the linguistic features that constitute them. The value of looking closely without being distracted by languageS or other rather abstract categories will be shown throughout this work.

4.3.5 What ‘ayiselulo’ can do that ‘no longer’ cannot do

With ‘ma-’ and the subjunctive having clarified the conditions of getting from A to B on the timeline, the teacher now takes advantage of a different piece of familiar aspect morphology with which she situates ‘It is no longer an eagle,’ at [Point B](#) of the timeline as an effect of the completed training. Talking about this sentence in interview, the teacher says: “Something would go wrong there if I didn’t explain it to them” (Interview Grade 5 Teacher), because, as will be discussed in more detail below, the language in this sentence is confusing for the learners for several reasons.

The teacher relanguages ‘It is no longer an eagle,’ into ‘ayiselulo ukhozi,’ which is morphologically made up like this:

| | | | |
|--------|--------|-------|-----------------------------|
| ayi- | -se- | -lu- | -lo |
| NEGSM9 | PERS | COP11 | ABS11 |
| u- | -khozi | | |
| NPx11 | eagle | | (It is no longer an eagle.) |

The morpheme ‘-se-’ in this example is found behind the subject marker (SM), not in front of it like the completive aspect explained in [4.3.2](#). It is referred to as the ‘persistive’ aspect, because it describes an action as still being performed or a state as still persisting at the time of the utterance. Again, in Standard English this aspect would be expressed lexically with ‘still’ and not morphologically (Nurse & Philippson, 2003, p. 128).

In this example the persistive ‘-se-’ is used in a negative construction, indicating that a state that had persisted before (the bird being an eagle) does not persist anymore at the time of the utterance – as expressed lexically in the story with ‘no longer’. The combination of ‘-se-’ with the identificative copulative of noun class 11 ‘-lu-’ – a prefix form used only with reference to nouns and pronouns (Oosthuysen, 2015, p. 86) – clarifies that the persistive aspect refers to a state of a noun in class 11 rather than to the performance of an action. The Standard English resource ‘no longer’ retains the same form, regardless of whether it is used to describe the state of a noun (like here in ‘It is no longer an eagle’) or of an activity (e.g. ‘It is no longer helping me’). The Khayelitshan repertoire on the other hand offers ‘-sa-’ to express the (non)persistence of an activity (e.g. ‘Ayisancedi’ – ‘It is *no longer* helping’) and ‘-se-’ when describing the state of nouns (e.g. ‘Ayiselothando’ / ‘Ayiselulo uthando’ – It is *no longer* love). Accordingly, even if learners at times get lost regarding the overall context of the story, the teacher nudges them – via familiar morphology – into understanding the rather unusual but here crucial event of *something* no longer existing in its previous essential form, i.e. no longer being an eagle.

Another affordance of this morphological representation of the persistive aspect is that it takes away the risk of ‘no longer’ being mistaken for a length measure. This is a likely scenario, especially because the part of the sentence that follows suit in the story: ‘... even though it measures four and a half meters from wingtip to wingtip’ ([B2-B3](#)), actually features the measurement unit ‘meters’. When we asked our teacher in

the interview if she thinks learners would have been likely to confuse ‘no longer’ with the ‘longer’ referring to length, the following exchange ensues:

| Interview Excerpt c | |
|---------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | R1 = Researcher 1 (Lara Krause, author) R2 = Researcher 2 (Tessa Dowling, supervisor) |

- 1 **R2:** Would it be the word ‘longer’ that they would struggle with? What would be the
- 2 difficulty there? Is it that they would think 'long' is ‘not short’?
- 3 **T:** Yes as in the length.
- 4 **R1:** So that's why then the translation into...
- 5 **T:** Yes.
- 6 **R2:** You knew they would, that would be a new...
- 7 **T:** Something would go wrong there if I didn't explain it to them.

She agrees that ‘longer’ could have easily been mistaken for a length measure instead of being understood as marking a duration of time. We do not know whether she would have identified this potential source of confusion without our cue, but nevertheless her remark in c7 shows her experience with learners’ interpretations of Standard English resources that are not part of their routinised language practices: ‘something will go wrong.’ She indicates that such experience helps her to identify these potential pitfalls, which could complicate meaning-making for her learners. Her use of familiar aspect morphology disambiguates here, clearly distinguishing ‘no longer’ from any connection to the length of the bird’s wings and thereby moving potential stumbling blocks out of the way, preventing confusion. We will see further on (e.g. [4.5.6](#)) that the anticipation of stumbling blocks and sorting them out before they can cause confusion amongst learners is part of many relanguaging moves by this teacher.

4.3.6 Affordances of noun class agreement in tracking the eagle

We are still at the point of the story where the owner tells the biologist that the eagle is now no longer an eagle but a chicken.

| Repetition of Lesson Transcript B | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | bold print = language as read from the story |
| C = Class | normal print = classroom languaging / englishing |
| | <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |

- 1 **C: Yes said its owner, but I have trained it to be a chicken.**
- 2 **T: It is no longer an eagle, it is a chicken, even though it measures four and a**
- 3 **half meters from wingtip to wingtip.**
- 4 **C:** [reading after teacher]
- 5 **T:** The man agreed, yes, it is an eagle, **but I have trained it to be a chicken.**
- 6 Sendiyiqeqeshile ngoba mayitshintshe ibe yintoni? Inkuku (*I have already trained*
- 7 *it because it should change into what? A chicken*). Mayibe yinkuku, ingabi saba
- 8 ieagle (*It shall be a chicken, it shall no longer be an eagle*). He says it is no longer
- 9 ukhozi (*an eagle*). Ayiselulo ukhozi, ngoku seyintoni? Seyichicken (*It is no*
- 10 *longer an eagle, now it is already what? It's already a chicken*). Why? Because I
- 11 have trained it. Ndiyitrainile kuba mayiyeke ukuba lukhozi, ibe yichicken (*I have*
- 12 *trained it because it shall stop being an eagle and be a chicken*). For five years, a
- 13 man has kept this eagle with the chicken, so that it will change its ways of being
- 14 the eagle to a, to become a chicken.

‘It is no longer an eagle,’ (B2) features the pronoun ‘it’, which Haspelmath, König, Oesterreicher, and Raible call a ‘referential device’ (2001, p. 1130). ‘It’ here indexes that which used to be an eagle. Those familiar with the working-outs of gender in Standard English don’t run the risk of understanding ‘it’ as referencing for example the owner of the eagle, who would be referred to by ‘he’. However, for our learners, ‘it’ may not be an unambiguous referential device, especially in such an unlikely context of something changing its essential way of being. Instead, there is potential for “referential conflict”, where the learners can perceive “more than one possible candidate for the referent of a referential expression” (Haspelmath et al., 2001, p. 1130). If relying on Standard English, the teacher would be left with but one

possibility to disambiguate this for the learners, namely by using the full noun phrase again, as in: ‘The eagle is no longer an eagle.’ This would still confront them with a rather odd piece of language. The teacher solves this difficulty by relanguaging ‘It is no longer an eagle,’ into ‘Ayiselulo ukhozi,’ which is morphologically made up like this:

| | | | |
|--------|--------|-------|-----------------------------|
| ayi- | -se- | -lu- | -lo |
| NEGSM9 | PERS | COP11 | ABS11 |
| u- | -khozi | | |
| NPx11 | eagle | | (It is no longer an eagle.) |

The NEGSM ‘ayi-’ refers to a noun in class 9 and is here used as an anaphora which can either be taken to index ‘intaka’ (*the bird*) or a “generic it” (Pahl et al., 1971, p. 72). The combination of the COP for noun class 11 (‘lu-’) and the ABS for the same class (‘-lo’) results in ‘-lulo’, which follows the aspect marker ‘-se-’ and is in turn employed as an anaphoric expression unambiguously referencing ‘ukhozi’ (*eagle*) as the only word in this immediate context that is in class 11. What ‘Ayiselulo ukhozi,’ illustrates well is the extensive noun class system (see [Appendix B](#) for tables with the agreement morphology) that is a sedimented feature of the Khayelitshan repertoire. Here, “agreement, both anaphoric and grammatical, radiates out from the head noun across the noun phrase and into the verb” (Nurse & Philippson, 2003, p. 31). Morrison (2018) shows how speakers “easily manipulate the system for both stancetaking and reference tracking purposes” (2018, p. 54). Other (Bantu) linguists have also emphasised the role of noun class agreement in reference tracking (Comrie, 1999; Contini-Morava, 2002). Contini-Morava for example summarises that noun classes help speakers “to identify the intended referent of so-called agreeing elements in discourse by restricting their range of possible reference to a noun of a particular class” (2002, p. 36).

Compared to the spatial repertoire of Khayelitsha and the statist repertoire of Standard Xhosa, Standard English offers only three genders that are reflected in pronouns that can be used as referential devices: ‘it’, ‘she’ and ‘he’. The latter two are mostly used for humans, with some exceptions like for example individual pets, leaving ‘it’ for all other nouns. The only plural option is ‘they’. The specificity of referential relationships therefore has to be inferred from context or via syntactic signals much more frequently

than in Khayelitshan languaging, where a wide variety of referential devices can be used to express such relationships in morphologically explicit ways.

‘Ayiselulo ukhozi’ (It (= something in noun class 9) is no longer it (= something in noun class 11), an eagle (noun class 11)) shows clearly for the learners that it is the state of the eagle (and not of anybody or anything else) that no longer persists. I argue that the teacher’s ‘referential choice’ (Haspelmath et al., 2001, p. 1124) is helping the learners to track the different actors and what is happening to them throughout the story, so that they can make sense of what might otherwise strike them as an opaque ‘poem’. Again, noun class agreement can be an instrument in a didactics of explicitness, because it conveys information and connections that would have to be inferred from context in Standard English.

This morphologically explicit and clear reference tracking is only possible, because explicit noun class agreement is part of learners’ and teachers’ routinised day-to-to language practices. Therefore, the Khayelitshan English classroom offers this specific ensemble of linguistic possibilities from which the teacher can actualise these noun-class-specific reference tracking devices and enrol them in her classroom languaging. An ex-model C school English classroom in Cape Town’s suburbs would not offer the same possibilities, because teachers and learners there often do not share the same routinised language practices and teachers would not be able to recruit noun class agreement morphology for clarification. Zooming into linguistic particularities therefore can position township classrooms as spaces of specific linguistic affordances and possibilities rather than as linguistic dead-ends marked solely by the alleged lack of Standard English. So it is worth looking closely for a while longer.

4.3.7 Becoming a chicken with 'se-' and '-yi-'

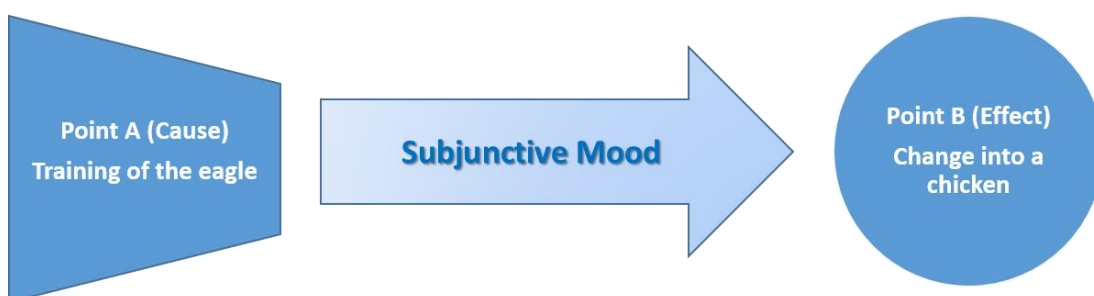
Since it has been established now that the eagle 'is no longer an eagle,' the teacher moves on to explain what it is now, by relanguaging 'It is a chicken.'

| Repetition of Lesson Transcript B | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | bold print = language as read from the story |
| C = Class | normal print = classroom languaging / englishing |
| | <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |

- 1 **C:** Yes said its owner, but I have trained it to be a chicken.
- 2 **T:** It is no longer an eagle, it is a chicken, even though it measures four and a
- 3 half meters from wingtip to wingtip.
- 4 **C:** [reading after teacher]
- 5 **T:** The man agreed, yes, it is an eagle, but I have trained it to be a chicken.
- 6 Sendiyiqeqeshile ngoba mayitshintshe ibe yintoni? Inkuku (*I have already trained*
- 7 *it because it should change into what? A chicken*). Mayibe yinkuku, ingabi saba
- 8 ieagle (*It shall be a chicken, it shall no longer be an eagle*). He says it is no longer
- 9 ukhozi (*an eagle*). Ayiselulo ukhozi, ngoku seyintoni? Seyichicken (*It is no*
- 10 *longer an eagle, now it is already what? It's already a chicken*). Why? Because I
- 11 have trained it. Ndiyitrainile kuba mayiyeke ukuba lukhozi, ibe yichicken (*I have*
- 12 *trained it because it shall stop being an eagle and be a chicken*). For five years, a
- 13 man has kept this eagle with the chicken, so that it will change its ways of being
- 14 the eagle to a, to become a chicken.

In B9 she enrolls the completive 'se-' again ('seyintoni' and 'seyichicken'), to express that the change of the eagle into a chicken has now been completed and we are at Point B of the timeline.

Repetition Graphic A



While the first completive ‘se-’ encountered was used in the verbal construction ‘sendiyiqeqeshile’ (4.3.2), it now occurs in the nominal constructions ‘Seyintoni?’ and ‘Seyichicken’. Their morphological make up looks as follows:

| | | | | |
|-------|------|-------|-------|-----------------------|
| se- | -yi- | -nto- | -ni | |
| COMPL | COP9 | thing | INTER | (It is already what?) |

This rhetorical question directs the learners’ attention to which state has already been reached:

| | | | |
|-------|------|----------|----------------------------|
| se- | -yi- | -chicken | |
| COMPL | COP9 | chicken | (It is already a chicken.) |

As explained in 4.2.1, in Khayelitshan languaging different versions of animal names circulate and the teacher therefore freely draws on ‘inkuku’ (*chicken*) and ‘chicken’ interchangeably in her classroom languaging. The latter here has the advantage of keeping language use close to that of the original story.

To clarify that the animal’s transformation has now been completed, the teacher draws on noun class agreement and tense and aspect morphology again. As a direct follow up of ‘ayiselulo ukhozi’ discussed above, she relanguages what is narrated in the story in the simple present tense (‘it is a chicken,’ B2) into ‘seyintoni’ and ‘seyichicken’. These constructions include the COP of noun class 9 (‘-yi-’), an anaphora which here has the same referent as the ‘ayi-’ (NEGSM of noun class 9) in ‘ayiselulo’, namely ‘intaka’ (noun class 9: *bird*). The ‘se-’ in the initial position (completive) in ‘seyintoni’ and ‘seyichicken’ then contrasts with the foregoing ‘-se-’ in T(A) position (persistive) in ‘ayiselulo’. The whole construction shows that the same ‘it’ (the bird) that is no longer an eagle is now already a chicken:

‘Ayiselulo ukhozi, ngoku seyintoni? Seyichicken.’

It (class 9) is no longer it (class 11), an eagle, now it (class 9) is already what?

It (class 9) is already a chicken.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ To trace how this agreement morphology works together in reference tracking see the tables with the noun class agreement morphology in [Appendix B](#).

Aspect morphology in combination with noun class agreement has – so I argue – clarified a central turning point in the story. A turning point that the teacher further elaborates on, as we will see in the next section.

4.3.8 ‘Because’ and ‘why’ we have to disentangle words from languageS

From B11 comes the point where the teacher clarifies why the change from an eagle into a chicken has occurred.

Repetition of Lesson Transcript B (B9-B14)

- 9 **T:** [...] no longer ukhozi. Ayiselulo ukhozi, ngoku seyintoni? Seyichicken (*It is no*
 10 *longer an eagle, now it is already what? It's already a chicken*). Why? Because I
 11 have trained it. Ndiyitrainile kuba mayiyeke ukuba lukhozi, ibe yichicken (*I have*
 12 *trained it because it shall stop being an eagle and be a chicken*). For five years, a
 13 man has kept this eagle with the chicken, so that it will change its ways of being
 14 the eagle to a, to become a chicken.

In B10-11 the teacher explains again the reason for the transformation by asking: ‘Why [is it a chicken]? Because I have trained it. Ndiyitrainile uba mayiyeke ukuba lukhozi, ibe yichicken.’ The question word ‘why’ followed by ‘because’ is used to emphasise the causal connection between the training ([Point A](#)) and the subsequent change ([Point B](#)). ‘Why’ and ‘because’ are familiar Standard English resources to the learners, as they are frequently used in classroom languaging to draw attention to causal connections and I have quite often observed lessons throughout Grades 4 to 7 that revised the joining of sentences via conjunctions like ‘because’, ‘but’ etc.

But ‘why’ and ‘because’ are also Khayelitshan resources, which I have heard being used outside the classroom a lot. Especially conjunctions like ‘because’ occur regularly. Deumert (2013) points out that sixteen out of nineteen urban Xhosa interviewees (interviewed ‘in Xhosa’) used ‘because’ and ‘but’ frequently (2013, p. 64). These little words therefore illustrate well how the statist repertoire of Standard English and the Khayelitshan repertoire are indeed *folded into each other* in the English classroom. For the analyst who looks for borrowing, code-switching or translanguaging – thus seeing to a degree “in conformity to how the state sees” (Silverstein, 2014, p. 18) – nothing stands out about ‘Why? Because I have trained it’

(B10-B11). Had the teacher said: ‘Why? Kuba I have trained it,’ ‘kuba’ (*because*) would be a clear indication for heterogeneous classroom languaging, because, since it is clearly excluded from Standard English, ‘kuba’ would be recognisable as a Khayelitshan resource. However, in Khayelitsha ‘kuba’ and ‘because’ are synonyms – two options for the same conjunction, one as Khayelitshan as the other.

‘Why’ and ‘because’ can just as much be Khayelitshan resources as ‘-fuya’ and ‘ma-’ discussed above. The difference is that they are also Standard English resources, codified in the corpus of that statist repertoire. And because linguistic features in linguistic analyses are per default conflated with languageS (see 2.1.2), ‘why’ and ‘because’ are invisible as Khayelitshan linguistic possibilities. It is only spatial association and a disentangling from languageS that allow us to perceive them as such.

Then it also becomes clear that, via relanguaging, the teacher is in fact *making* ‘why’ and ‘because’ Standard English words, as we can see by reinvoking the familiar relanguaging circle:

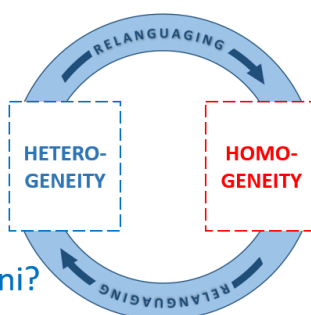
Repetition of Circle VI

Step 4 (B11)

Ndiyitrainile kuba
mayiyeke ukuba
lukhozi, ibe yichicken.

Step 2 (B6-B9)

Sendiyiqeqeshile ngoba
mayitshintshe ibe yintoni?
Inkuku. Mayibe yinkuku,
ingabi saba ieagle. He says
it is no longer ukhozi.
Ayiselulo ukhozi, ngoku
seyintoni? Seyichicken.



Step 1 (B5)

The man agreed,
yes, it is an eagle,
but I have trained
it to be a chicken.

Step 3 (B10-B11)

Why? Because I have
trained it.

Step 5 (B12-B14)

For five years, a man has
kept this eagle with the
chicken, so that it will change
its ways of being the eagle to
a, to become a chicken.

Contrasting it with the heterogeneous classroom languaging in **Step 2**, ‘Why? Because I have trained it,’ in **Step 3** is clearly a homogenisation and a close entanglement of ‘why’ and ‘because’ with the Standard English resources from the story (‘I have trained it’). It is only in the space of the English classroom and through the teacher’s sorting of linguistic features in watchfulness towards the boundaries of Standard

English, that these two resources, that otherwise could as well be Khayelitsha, are positioned as part of the homogenised, statist repertoire. Teaching to English in Khayelitsha often means to demonstrate that already familiar resources can *count as English* in other spaces. Learning to English in Khayelitsha accordingly means (amongst other things) to understand this. Relanguaging is a mechanism via which teachers can make this point.

By looking more closely at ‘why’ and ‘because’ – because I didn’t take for granted that they are Standard English resources but wondered what they might be – I also realised that, in terms of the didactic strategies displayed here, there is a parallel between the teacher’s use of morphemes like ‘ma-’ (see 4.3.3 and [Step 2](#) & [Step 4](#) in Circle VI) and her use of ‘why’ and ‘because’. All these resources allow her to make information that is implicit in the Standard English story linguistically explicit. ‘Why’ and ‘because’ formalise the causal connection between the training of the eagle and its change into a chicken, like ‘ma-’ had formalised the voice of authority that makes the eagle change into a chicken. I argue that what we observe in both cases is a ‘didactics of explicitness’ with which the teacher foregoes potential confusion amongst learners. This communality would remain hidden when analysts look for translanguaging, because ‘Why? Because I have trained it,’ wouldn’t be analysed conjunctively with instances of heterogeneous languaging like ‘Ndiyitrainile ukuba mayiyeke ukuba lukhozi ibe yichicken.’ Only the latter would count as translanguaging and the former would be ignored. It becomes possible to analyse them together and to discover that they both instantiate a didactics of explicitness, when we link linguistic features to spatial repertoires instead of languageS and when we conceptualise the ordering of these features in interaction in terms of relanguaging.

The importance of analytically linking linguistic features to spatial repertoires instead of languageS becomes clearer still when looking at two other key resources in this relanguaging activity: ‘sendiyiqeqeshile’ (*I have already trained it*) and ‘ndiyitrainile’ (*I have trained it*). We played B5-B14 as stimulated recall in the interview and asked the teacher about these resources in particular. Her elaborate answer warrants pursuing a few analytical tangents that I will present in the following subchapter.

4.4 Relanguaging ‘train’ while training the eagle

4.4.1 *It's like when you preach in church*

| Repetition of Lesson Transcript B (B5-B14) as played in interview | |
|---|---|
| T = Teacher | bold print = language as read from the story normal print = classroom languaging / englishing <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |

- 5 **T:** The man agreed, yes, it is an eagle, **but I have trained it to be a chicken.**
6 Sendiyiqeqeshile ngoba mayitshintshe ibe yintoni? Inkuku (*I have already trained*
7 *it because it should change into what? A chicken*). Mayibe yinkuku, ingabi saba
8 ieagle (*It shall be a chicken, it shall no longer be an eagle*). He says it is no longer
9 ukhozi (*an eagle*). Ayiselulo ukhozi, ngoku seyintoni? Seyichicken (*It is no*
10 *longer an eagle, now it is already what? It's already a chicken*). Why? Because I
11 have trained it. Ndiyitrainile kuba mayiyeke ukuba lukhozi, ibe yichicken (*I have*
12 *trained it because it shall stop being an eagle and be a chicken*). For five years, a
13 man has kept this eagle with the chicken, so that it will change its ways of being
14 the eagle to a, to become a chicken.

We started the conversation about this sequence like this:

R1: Yah that is, maybe I'm not gonna ask anything. Maybe you can just tell us what you, what you did there, because the language that you are using is just so interesting.

T: I'm using Xhosa. More especially for the more-time learners. The slow learners. Because there are some learners who do not understand a bit (Interview Grade 5 Teacher).

After this, the teacher continues to elaborate on how the ‘slow learners’ struggle to understand any English. We then directed her attention back to this concrete instance of classroom languaging that we had played for her. We were particularly interested in her use of the forms ‘sendiyiqeqeshile’ and ‘ndiyitrainile’, which, apart from the additional completive aspect ‘se-’ in ‘sendiyiqeqeshile’ (see [4.3.2](#)) convey close to synonymous meanings. In ‘ndiyitrainile’, however, the verb root is not ‘-qeqesh-’ (*train*) but ‘-train-’. To prompt the teacher to comment further, we picked up on the fact that she said ‘I’m using Xhosa,’ and the following exchange ensues:

| Interview Excerpt d | |
|---------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | R1 = Researcher 1 (Lara Krause, author) R2 = Researcher 2 (Tessa Dowling, supervisor) |

- 1 **R1:** Ok and then you say you speak Xhosa, but at the same time also sometimes you
2 say something like 'seyichicken' or 'ndiyitrainile'. How would you describe that
3 kind of language? Because...
- 4 **R2:** You use '-qeqeshile' and then you also use '-trainile'.
- 5 **T:** Ndiyiqeqeshile, ndiyitrainile. So that when I say that word in English: 'I have
6 trained', they already, some of them they pick up the minute you say
7 'ndiyiqeqeshile', 'ndiyitrainile'. Then they just put them together. The meaning
8 of 'qeqeshile' is 'to train'.⁴⁷
- 9 **R1:** And then you say 'ndiyitrainile' and then you say 'train'.
- 10 **T:** Yes. Sometimes I don't even go there. They, they pick it up and say it themselves.
- 11 **R2:** Oh wow.
- 12 **T:** Yah it helps. You, you try to change an English word into a Xhosa word. Because
13 the word 'train' is an English word. It's not a Xhosa word but I can say
14 'ndiyitrainile' instead of saying 'ndiyiqeqeshile'.
- 15 **R1:** And so do you use that as a tool?
- 16 **T:** Yes, I do.
- 17 **R1:** Have you learned that? Has somebody in your training taught you?
- 18 **T:** No, no.
- 19 **R1:** How did you come up with it?
- 20 **T:** Sometimes it just come. Just like when you preach in church. The words just come
21 on their own. It just, it just comes, I don't know how it happens but I was not
22 trained at school. At school they said that when you teach English you mustn't do
23 code-switching. But to me it came that here this is not a Model C School. Some
24 children speak English full time, at home, the more that they used [sic]. The
25 people that work there are Xhosa. When they go to buy they speak Xhosa when
26 they pay at the till. So I just change it myself.

⁴⁷ ukuqeqesha = to train/ ndiyiqeqeshile = I have trained it. It is common for speakers to include the infinitive in their own glosses of words, even if the infinitive morpheme uku- is not there.

In the following paragraphs, I work through Interview Excerpt d, beginning my analysis at the end. The first point I want to make relates to lines d20 to d26. Asked how she came up with the linguistic mediation using ‘-qeqeshile’ and ‘-trainile’, the teacher gives us some insight into relanguaging as a spatial practice. She compares her classroom languaging to preaching in church – she, like the majority of teachers at the school, regularly attends church on weekends – where ‘the words just come on their own’ (d20-d21) and she ‘doesn’t know how it happens’ (d21). The fact that the teacher doesn’t consciously strategise about which languaging resources to use is typical of practices as highly routinised forms of behaviour (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 2005). In the above excerpt, she is nevertheless able to retrospectively give us a deep insight into how and why she used ‘-trainile’ instead of ‘-qeqeshile’. As discussed in 3.5.2, this is in line with what SchatzkiSchatzki observes about practices, namely that people mostly

do what makes sense to them to do; more elaborately, they are almost always performing bodily doings that, in the current circumstances, constitute the actions that make sense to them to perform (Schatzki, 2005, p. 55)(Schatzki, 2005, p. 55).

Therefore, when in retrospect reconstructing the situation, people can give quite detailed accounts of why they did what they did (Garfinkel, 1967, vii; Schatzki, 2005). So I argue that the teacher, after relanguaging the classroom repertoire into a heterogeneous state, chooses the linguistic features according to what makes sense to her in her quest to make her learners understand the meaning of the word ‘train’ in the context of the story.

Another aspect of the preaching in church analogy is that it reminds us how (re)languaging is always a spatial practice as it is influenced by the institutional as well as the physical space in which it is done. In church, preaching is influenced by institutionalised ideas of what happens during church service as well as by written language from the bible etc. Township worshipping is characterised by spontaneous prayer, where people often pray at length in eloquent but unrehearsed utterances that integrate aspects of the written word from the bible in ways that are accessible for the local congregation. In fact, it could be investigated whether in the space of a church relanguaging is also a relevant mechanism in that it prepares praying and preaching. It is therefore not far-fetched for the teacher to make connections between her church

and her classroom languaging, which is also influenced by spatial particularities of the Khayelitshan English classroom. These particularities are for example a learner population with very limited englishing experiences, centralised curricula that transport teaching materials with quite complex Standard English into the space and the institutionalised rule that the aim of activities in this classroom is not to spread the word of God but to teach how to english.

For this teacher, such spatial particularities are important as we can read from her comparison of the township school with a ‘Model C School’ ([d23](#)). In the former, so she has decided herself, ‘code-switching’ is a necessary part of teaching English, while in ex-model C schools things might be different. In fact, a little bit later in the interview, asked about what she thinks the differences would be between teaching in a township versus teaching in an inner-city or suburban school, the teacher says:

Code-switching. Because if I can teach English in the English speaking area then there will be no need for me to code-switch. And teaching English in the Xhosa area, it's, it's a bit hard. It's challenging. Because as I've said you have to cater for the slow learners as well (Interview Grade 5 Teacher).

According to this teacher, classroom languaging is thus strongly influenced by the linguistic space in which a school is located. In her estimation, there would be ‘no need to code-switch’ in classrooms in ‘English speaking areas’. Adding a different perspective to her elaboration here, we could also say that the spatial repertoires of classrooms in an ‘English speaking area’ – compared to township classrooms – in fact offer only restricted possibilities for such heterogeneous language practices. As pointed out in [4.3.6](#), in an ex-model C school English classroom, teachers and learners often do not share the same routinised language practices, which limits the variety of linguistic resources available for classroom languaging.

In this view, then, township classrooms become linguistically more demanding spaces, necessitating substantial relanguaging efforts to order the variety of resources available. At the same time they also become spaces of substantial linguistic possibilities, letting the repertoire of ex-model C classrooms appear restricted. This change of perspective towards a resource oriented view of township classrooms is supported by research from Guzula et al. (2016) looking at practices in an after-school literacy club. They show in how far what they call “languaging-for-learning” in

exploratory discourse can in fact be more productive “when the teacher and learners share linguistic repertoires” (2016, p. 223) than in spaces where this is not the case.

The resource-richness of township classrooms that looks like a comparative advantage from a perspective that takes heterogeneity as the norm, is turned into a disadvantage through the statist lens, which is concerned with assessing successful language teaching and learning via standardised tests. These tests assume that (emergent) mastery of a homogenised repertoire like Standard English can only be assessed monolingually. Especially in chapter 6, where I discuss learners’ heterogeneous writing practices, I will ponder – with those learners’ and their teachers’ help – on options of systematically teaching and assessing englishing *from within* linguistic heterogeneity. For now, however, I return from this analytical tangent back to Interview Excerpt d, from which more insights into the linguistic complexity of Khayelitshan English classrooms are to be gained.

4.4.2 Tracing ‘train’ through townships

Repetition of Interview Excerpt d (d12-d14)

- 12 **T :** Yah it helps. You, you try to change an English word into a Xhosa word. Because
 13 the word ‘train’ is an English word. It's not a Xhosa word but I can say
 14 ‘ndiyitrainile’ instead of saying ‘ndiyiqeqeshile’.

The teacher’s remark that ‘the word ‘train’ is an English word. It's not a Xhosa word...’ is in line with the conventionalised, statist view of languageS. Accordingly, the teacher described what she is doing here as ‘changing an English word into a Xhosa word’. Before looking at what exactly it is that she here accomplishes with ‘ndiyitrainile’, I want to use this section to once again unsettle the languageS ideology by tracing some whereabouts of ‘train’ outside the statist repertoire of Standard English:

‘Train’ in Khayelitsha: From personal experience I can say that the noun ‘trainer’ features a lot in Khayelitshan languaging because it is a resource used in the comments on soccer matches on TV or on the radio. The verb root ‘-train-’ in turn can often be heard in conversations around soccer training, e.g. ‘Sitraine kakhulu izolo’ (*We trained*

a lot yesterday). It is also used for activities aimed at improving one's physical shape, e.g. becoming fit through exercising, etc.

‘Train’ in Gugulethu: While I do not have written or sound recorded documentation of the use of this particular verb in Khayelitsha except for in this classroom scenario, it was recorded in the neighbouring Cape Town township Gugulethu⁴⁸ by Seabe (2014), who conducted interviews with former members of criminal gangs, who now joined voluntary organisations. The township is a space very similar to Khayelitsha in terms of migratory dynamics and the resulting language practices discussed in [1.2](#). In interview a volunteer says:

Ndiquale ndatraina, and ukutraina ndayithand' into, ukuyithanda kwam yabasegazini ukuba no akhonto ndiyenzayo elokishini ... Bendikade ndikwizinto zee gangsters, ndisenza yonke into elapha phandle but now ndina two years ingqondo yam ayisekho kweza zinto. (*I started with training and I loved it. When I loved it, it was in my blood that I am not doing anything in the township ... I used to be in these things of gangsters, doing everything that is out there but now it's been two years and my mind is no longer there*) (Seabe, 2014, p. 71, englishing by Seabe, my emphasis).

Apart from the fact that this entire quote is an illustration of the type of heterogeneous languaging that is prevalent in Khayelitsha too, I here merely want to point out that the verb root ‘-train-’ features twice in the first sentence in ‘ndatraina’ and ‘ukutraina’. This illustrates how this verb root has been travelling far beyond Standard English and is indeed a sedimented part of the spatial repertoire of townships like Gugulethu and Khayelitsha.

So when the teacher says: ‘Train is not a Xhosa word,’ she is right in the sense that ‘train’ does not belong to the administratively defined set of linguistic features called Standard Xhosa that – through the statist lens – is spoken by people in Khayelitsha. However, if we look at language in terms of spatial repertoires, then ‘-train-’ – similarly to ‘because’ and ‘why’ discussed in [4.3.8](#) – becomes visible as a Khayelitshan resource.

⁴⁸ Gugulethu is a township directly adjacent to Khayelitsha, somewhat smaller and slightly closer to Cape Town.

This background information influences how we can interpret what exactly ‘ndiyitrainile’ accomplishes in this sequence, as I will explore further in the next section.

4.4.3 ‘They just put them together’

| Repetition of Lesson Transcript B (B5-B14) | |
|--|--|
| T = Teacher | normal print = classroom languaging / englishing (<i>italics</i>) = (<i>englishing added by the author</i>) |

- 5 **T:** The man agreed, yes, it is an eagle, but I have trained it to be a chicken.
 6 Sendiyiqeqeshile ngoba mayitshintshe ibe yintoni? Inkuku (*I have already trained*
 7 *it because it should change into what? A chicken*). Mayibe yinkuku, ingabi saba
 8 ieagle (*It shall be a chicken, it shall no longer be an eagle*). He says it is no longer
 9 ukhozi (*an eagle*). Ayiselulo ukhozi, ngoku seyintoni? Seyichicken (*It is no*
 10 *longer an eagle, now it is already what? It's already a chicken*). Why? Because I
 11 have trained it. Ndiyitrainile kuba mayiyeke ukuba lukhozi, ibe yichicken (*I have*
 12 *trained it because it shall stop being an eagle and be a chicken*). For five years, a
 13 man has kept this eagle with the chicken, so that it will change its ways of being
 14 the eagle to a, to become a chicken.

As noted earlier, the forms ‘sendiyiqeqeshile’ (B6) and ‘ndiyitrainile’ (B11) convey nearly synonymous meanings. I now jump to the beginning of Interview Excerpt d, where the teacher explains why she uses both forms:

| Repetition of Interview Excerpt d (d5-d10) | |
|--|--|
| T = Teacher | R1 = Researcher 1 (Lara Krause, author) R2 = Researcher 2 (Tessa Dowling, supervisor) |

- 5 **T:** Ndiyiqeqeshile, ndiyitrainile. So that when I say that word in English: ‘I have
 6 trained’, they already, some of them they pick up the minute you say
 7 ‘ndiyiqeqeshile’, ‘ndiyitrainile’. Then they just put them together. The meaning
 8 of ‘qeqeshile’ is ‘to train’.

9 **R1:** And then you say ‘ndiyitrainile’ and then you say ‘train’.

10 **T:** Yes. Sometimes I don't even go there. They, they pick it up and say it themselves.

The teacher’s explanation of what she is doing with ‘-qeqeshile’ and ‘-trainile’ is strongly reminiscent of what Celic and Seltzer promote as an essential part of translangual pedagogy. They write: “Putting language practices alongside each other makes possible for learners to explicitly notice language features, an awareness needed to develop linguistic abilities” (2011, p. 3) I argue – based on the tracing of ‘train’ above – that ‘-qeqeshile’ and ‘-trainile’ are both equally Khayelitshan and are therefore accessible for learners. Of both resources then, ‘-trainile’ is more similar to ‘trained’ from the story and the teacher uses it directly following ‘trained’ (B11), with a pronunciation that clearly emphasises the similarity of the verbs: ‘Because I have *trained* it. Ndiyitrainile ...’ By putting them “alongside each other” (Celic & Seltzer, 2011, p. 3), she emphasises similarities between language resources familiar to the learners and those used in the story, blurring the perceived boundaries between the familiar Khayelitshan repertoire and the complex Standard English of the teaching material. For example with ‘-trainile’ she ‘bridges’ words and emphasises connections and meaning-overlaps – a strategy recognised as productive in translangual pedagogy (García & Wei, 2014, p. 131) as well as in more traditional approaches to ‘Second Language Teaching’, where it would fall under the use of ‘cognates’ (Graves, August, & Mancilla-Martinez, 2013, p. 29). This then is an example of how what is promoted as new approaches to pedagogy under translanguaging is actually often already firmly grounded in South African teachers’ practices (see also Banda, 2018; Probyn, 2015).

There is more to learn from the teacher’s comment, as it also shows how she thinks that her learners are already able ‘to explicitly notice language features’, as she is convinced that with ‘-qeqeshile’, ‘trained’ and ‘-trainile’ available in the spatial repertoire during this activity, the learners will be able to ‘put them together’ and arrive at the meaning of the targeted resource ‘train’. She presupposes that her learners are not prevented from picking up this particular resource by the Khayelitshan morphology she assembled around it (‘ndi-’; ‘-yi-’; ‘-ile’). The teacher assumes that the learners can recognise such morphology as being separable and mobile and are able to dis- and reassemble it on their own. This would mean that they also know which features belong where in the statist view. Therefore, to teach vocabulary in the way she does it here with ‘train’, she does not see the need to continue her relanguaging to

the point where she sorts out all the Khayelitshan resources and says the word ‘train’. Instead, the learners can do part of the relanguaging as they ‘pick it up and say it themselves’ (d10). In this particular case, if we assume that learners are already familiar with the verb root ‘-train-’, then what they can learn from this sequence is that ‘train’, when disassembled from Khayelitshan morphology, in fact counts as a Standard English word.

The Grade 5 teacher is not alone in ascribing such skills of dis- and reassembling morphemes to her learners. The Grade 4 English teacher uses the morpheme ‘-ish-a’ (Koopman, 1999) with the verb root ‘-mean’ in ‘meanisha’ in a lesson recorded on the 8th of February 2016 and when asked about it in interview she says that she wants to teach the learners the vocabulary item ‘mean’ and adds: “‘u-sha’ [in meanisha] they [the learners] know is Xhosa” (Interview Grade 4 Teacher). She thereby points – even more explicitly than the Grade 5 teacher above – to the learners’ ability to recognise ‘-ish-a’⁴⁹ “as a separable suffix” without confusing it to be “part of the target language set” (Dowling & Krause, 2018, p. 13). Rather, she assumes that they are able to sort the resources out, to dis- and reassemble ‘-ish-a’ as need be, and also that they know where it belongs in the statist view – namely to Standard Xhosa. Teachers see their learners as relanguagers with substantial metalinguistic awareness, who are able to sort out and put together morphological affordances as the space demands it. We will see in chapter 6, where learners’ writing is in focus, that it is not only the teachers who assume their learners to have these sorting skills but that learners indeed display them in their writing when given the opportunity.

To summarise the findings of this section, I want to emphasise what the teacher also said in this long interview sequence:

Repetition Interview Excerpt d (d22-d26)

- 22 **T:** At school [teacher training college] they said that when you teach English you
 23 mustn't do code-switching. But to me it came that here this is not a Model C
 24 School. Some children speak English full time, at home, the more that they used

⁴⁹ The teacher here refers to the morpheme as ‘-sha’ while from a grammarians point of view it includes ‘i-’ and the ‘-a’, because the final vowel could change in different tenses and moods. Therefore it is normally codified as ‘ish-a’.

- 25 [sic]. The people that work there are Xhosa. When they go to buy they speak
 26 Xhosa when they pay at the till. So I just change it myself.

The message that ‘when you teach English you mustn’t do code-switching’ ([d22-d23](#)) is a powerful one as it is also communicated by educational authorities that urge schools “to reduce the amount of code-switching and code mixing in order to ensure maximum exposure to the LoLT” (Western Cape Government, 2017). Township parents – as discussed in [1.5](#) – also criticise teachers in this respect (Lombard, 2007; Ndimande, 2012) and the principal at Khayelitsha Primary stands behind this message as well. He said in the interview I conducted with him for my MA thesis that the teachers

tend to teach English in Xhosa. That’s why we have problem with our children, because they mustn’t code-switch, we call it a code-switching. They must teach English even Grade 4. They must be taught the language of the lesson, of the learning area. All the learning area, the language of the learning area is English (Interview Principal Khayelitsha Primary 2014).⁵⁰

But what both teachers’ classroom languaging and their own interpretations of it imply, is that they deem all language resources to be equally valuable in teaching English. This attitude and the resulting heterogeneous language practices appear in this light as a courageous act of resistance against such deficit orientations produced by a statist perspective on linguistic heterogeneity. Regardless of what they are being told and what they are being chastised for, in the light of their experience with the affordances and constraints of Khayelitshan schooling, the teachers ‘just change it themselves’ ([d26](#)) – ‘it’ here being dominant ideas of monolingualism as the only valid approach to English teaching.

In their classroom languaging teachers often overcome the idea of having to teach a new target language that is separate from learners’ usual languaging. Instead, in line with what is promoted in translingual approaches to pedagogy, they help their learners in gaining access to a “unique repertoire of meaning-making resources” (García & Wei, 2014, p. 80). ‘Ndiyitrainile’ and ‘meanisha’ are such ‘unique meaning making-making resources’ that teachers assemble from the particular inventory of linguistic

⁵⁰ This interview has also been reported on in Krause (2014), Krause and Prinsloo (2016) and Dowling and Krause (2018).

possibilities afforded by the Khayelitshan English classroom. Those resources escape the eyes of educational authorities and state administrators – and in their detail often also the eyes of analysts who are entangled in the statist vision – or only become visible as disturbances, because they unsettle the boundaries between languageS that are necessary for statist homogenisation and categorisation. However, I argue that it is precisely the teachers’ use of these placed resources that adds immense value to their teaching by pointing out paths into Standard English via accessible resources. But this in itself does not help township teachers’ reputation in the eyes of educational stakeholders who ‘see like a state’ and can only overlook the effective strategies behind such practices that lie in their nuances. The conflict between the statist vision and the potential of township teachers’ heterogeneous language teaching strategies will be further illuminated throughout this work.

I argue that the teacher’s heterogeneous classroom languaging that I analysed here is not an instance of translanguaging but a product of relanguaging in this reading activity, as she never loses sight of Standard English resources and the fact that it is her job to teach them. Fluidity and fixity therefore co-constitute each other and languageS are not transcended in the English classroom, as can be made visible by taking one final look at the relanguaging circle that contains Lesson Transcript B in the next section.

4.4.4 Summarising the story and sorting out Khayelitshan resources

I have spend much time discussing the linguistic fine grain of the language resources the teacher enrolls to make the story more accessible for her learners. The relanguaging circle helps to resurface from these morphological deep-dives in order to visualise again how these linguistic details are part of a toing and froing between hetero- and homogeneity that orders the English classroom as a linguistic space in this activity:

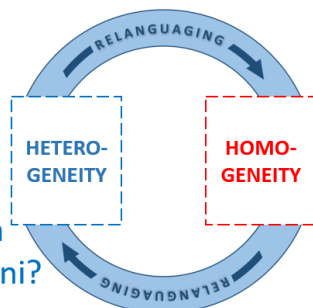
Repetition of Circle VI

Step 4 (B11)

Ndiyitrainile kuba
mayiyeke ukuba
lukhozi, ibe yichicken.

Step 2 (B6-B9)

Sendiyiqeqeshile ngoba
mayitshintshe ibe yintoni?
Inkuku. Mayibe yinkuku,
ingabi saba ieagle. He says
it is no longer ukhozi.
Ayiselulo ukhozi, ngoku
seyintoni? Seyichicken.



Step 1 (B5)

The man agreed,
yes, it is an eagle,
but I have trained
it to be a chicken.

Step 3 (B10-B11)

Why? Because I have
trained it.

Step 5 (B12-B14)

For five years, a man has
kept this eagle with the
chicken, so that it will change
its ways of being the eagle to
a, to become a chicken.

My analyses up to now comprised what happens from **Step 1** to **Step 4**, where we are currently. **Step 4** marks a point where the classroom repertoire is unsorted and balanced towards heterogeneity. The move towards **Step 5** is now the final *sorting out* that wraps up the teacher's mediation of this section of the story by summarising the essential points: An eagle was kept with chicken so that it changed into a chicken itself.

Having disentangled the ensemble of linguistic possibilities by *sorting out* Khayelitshan resources that were still prevalent in **Step 4**, the teacher now englishes this summary in **Step 5**. Such relanguaging as *sorting out* had up to now mainly been accomplished by reading from the Standard English story or by assembling resources that remained very close to the language of the story (**Step 3**), with the teaching material being central to this process. Now the teacher does the *sorting out* more independently from the textbook, becoming the main agent in homogenising the classroom repertoire. She closes down on the possibilities of an otherwise heterogeneous linguistic space, by restricting herself to englishing, being watchful towards the boundaries of Standard English. This move demonstrates the skill that English learners in Khayelitsha have to master: abandoning those elements from an ensemble of linguistic possibilities that do not fit the required statist repertoire and choosing those that fall within its confines. In other words, learners themselves have to become relanguagers when learning how to english in Khayelitsha. They need to

learn to sort out heterogeneous spatial repertoires so that they can produce a homogenised one that counts as Standard English – and it is exactly this skill that the teacher demonstrates here.

Throughout this chapter I have so far illustrated the details of the linguistic features that constitute the teacher's classroom languaging and englishing in this reading activity and that are in turn products of heterogenising or homogenising relanguaging moves performed by handling and shaping the classroom repertoire. Along the way I have gone on plenty of other analytical excursions to make visible teachers' local expertise that underlies their language practices. But where do we stand with regard to what happens in the story? As my next analytical point of interest requires us to jump forward significantly in the plot, I here insert a brief summary to bridge the gap for the reader.

4.5 What the story and the spatial lens teaches us

4.5.1 Of clumsiness and verbiness

So far, the analysis has taken us to the point where the owner of the eagle explains to the biologist that he has trained the eagle to be a chicken. The story further unfolds with the biologist responding: **'No, it is an eagle still. It has the heart of an eagle and I will make it fly high up in the sky.'** The owner in turn claims that it is impossible for the eagle to fly, because it is now a chicken. However, he lets the biologist test it. In the owner's garden the eagle really does not fly, instead it just jumps down from whichever pedestal the biologist puts it on, in the hope that it would start flapping its wings. The biologist then decides that the conditions in the garden are not favourable and, the following day, takes the eagle to a high mountain and sets it free. Eventually, the eagle starts flapping its wings and flies. This is where the teaching sequence transcribed below sets in. In C1 the learners repeat after the teacher a sentence in the story that describes what the eagle's first flying attempts look like.

| Lesson Transcript C | |
|--------------------------|---|
| T = Teacher C = Class | bold print = language as read from the story normal print = classroom languaging / englishing <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |

1 **C: At first it was clumsy and it wobbled, as it flew.**

2 **T:** Iyaqala ke ngoku, iyabhabhazela kabi (*It starts now, it flaps about badly*): clumsy.
3 Ibingekho ... kubonakala uba loo mntu oyenzayo lo, laa nto, wenza into
4 angayiqhelanga (*It wasn't ... it is visible that the someone who is doing that thing*
5 *is doing something s/he is not used to*). **But soon it became more graceful and**
6 **confident.**

7 **C: But soon it became more graceful and confident.**

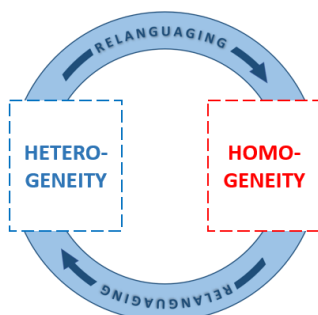
8 **T:** But as an eagle flew, yaqalisa ke ngoku yaqhela, yomelela (... , *it started getting*
9 *used to it and became strong*). Yayeka ukuthini? Ukoyika (*It stopped being what?*
10 *Being scared*). It stopped being scared. It got used to it as it was flying.
11 Iqhubekeka ukubhabha (*It continues to fly*). Yaphela isithini? (*It ended up doing*
12 *what?*) Iqhela (*It gets used to it*) and it became confident. **It flew higher and**
13 **higher into the sky until it was just a tiny dot in the distance. It never**
14 **returned. It was an eagle, though it had been kept as a chicken.**

I begin by focussing on C1-C6 and before we go into the morphological deep-dive we can already have a look at what happens there in terms of relanguaging:

Circle VII

Step 2 (C2-C4)

T: Iyaqala ke ngoku
iyabhabhazela kabi:
clumsy. Ibingekho...
Kubonakala uba loo
mntu oyenzayo lo,
laa nto, wenza into
angayiqhelanga.



Step 1 (C1)

C: At first it was clumsy
and it wobbled as it flew.

Step 3 (C5-C6)

T: But soon it became more
graceful and confident.

Starting, as usual, from the unsorted classroom repertoire, **Step 1** – the chorus reading of a sentence from the story – balances the repertoire towards homogeneity. **Step 2** then instantiates the result of relanguaging as *bringing together* resources from the classroom repertoire into a heterogeneous ensemble with which the teacher sheds light on the vocabulary item ‘clumsy’, as I will discuss in detail below. **Step 3**, the reading of the next sentence from the story, then balances the classroom repertoire towards homogeneity again.

The first thing to note when looking at the language of the actual story in C1, is how grammatically dense and complex it is. Alongside the adjective ‘clumsy’ – which is not only a Standard English but also a likely familiar Khayelitshan resource as I will explain below – it features the regular past tense of the highly idiosyncratic verb ‘wobble’, followed by the irregular past tense verb form ‘flew’.⁵¹ These two verb forms are likely to be unfamiliar to most learners and so is the lexical expression of simultaneity via ‘as’ in the subordinate clause ‘as it flew’. The picture so nicely painted by ‘wobbled as it flew’ – a huge bird struggling to balance its body while flying – does little for learners with such limited access to the relevant Standard English resources. Below I analyse the resources the teacher uses to make this scene more understandable and easier to visualise:

In contrast to the verb forms ‘wobbled’ and ‘flew’, the adjective ‘clumsy’ is likely to be a familiar resource for the learners, since it can often be heard in Khayelitshan

⁵¹ Neither ‘wobbled’ nor ‘flew’ feature on the [list of the 10000 most used English words](#) (last accessed on 25.07.2019).

utterances such as ‘Ndiclumsy!’ (*I am clumsy!*) From my own languaging in Khayelitsha and from colleagues and friends from townships I know that ‘clumsy’ is part of the Khayelitshan repertoire. While learners are likely to use ‘clumsy’ in their day-to-day languaging, they might not be aware of its particular usage and shade of meaning as a Standard English resource.

In the story, ‘clumsy’ is used as an adjective referring to ‘it’ (the eagle). In her relanguaged version, however, the teacher uses ‘clumsy’ to refer to the act of flying. This doesn’t change the meaning, because the description of the eagle as clumsy in the story results from how it is flying. In [C2](#), she uses the verb ‘-bhabhazela’, which is explained very vividly in Kropf’s dictionary as: “flap about, as a duck attempting to fly” (1915, p. 17). This verb conveys the semantics of ‘being clumsy’ and ‘wobbling’ whilst ‘attempting to fly’ in one package and the following adverb ‘kabi’ (*badly*) reinforces the helplessness and clumsiness already included in this verb form. The teacher then ends with ‘clumsy’, as if summarising for the learners that if a bird bhabhazelas badly it can be described as ‘clumsy’. The verb ‘-bhabhazela’ illustrates why Bantu languages are described as being ‘verby’, since “the verb is pivotal in the sentence, it incorporates much information, and may stand alone as a sentence” (Nurse & Philippson, 2003, p. 30). This one particular verb carries so much graphic content that it gives learners access to everything described in the highly complex sentence in [C1](#). I argue that this verbiness is a useful affordance in the teacher’s linguistic mediation here, as it is very economical, allowing her to quickly cut to the core of the issue, while still providing cues for the visualisation of the eagle’s flying attempt in all its detail.

After her use of ‘-bhabhazela’ has clarified the meaning of ‘clumsy’ in the particular context of learning to fly, the teacher gives a more general definition of what it means to be ‘clumsy’ in [C3-C4](#), saying: ‘Ibingekho ... kubonakala uba loo mntu oyenzayo lo, laa nto, wenza into angayiqhelanga’ (*It wasn’t ... it is visible that the someone who is doing that thing is doing something s/he is not used to*).

The impression of general applicability of this definition is induced firstly by her use of SM15 (-ku-) as a ‘generic it’ (Pahl et al., 1971, p. 72) in:

| | | | |
|------|-------|--------|--------------------------|
| ku- | -bon- | -akala | |
| SM15 | see | NEUT | (<i>it is visible</i>) |

The neuter extension, which has the allomorph ‘-akal-’, is also described as a ‘potential extension’, indexing “the ability to undergo an action [...] as may be indicated by the Standard English suffix *-able* or *-ible*” (Pahl, Pienaar, & Ndungane, 1989, p. 706). This extension therefore turns the common verb ‘-bona’ (*see*) into ‘-bonakala’ (*be visible*), while retaining a connection to the frequently used root verb ‘-bon-’. ‘Kubonakala’ allows the teacher to add the concept of ‘visibility’ to her languaging – a useful affordance in an activity that is not directed at introducing additional vocabulary that learners potentially don’t know (e.g. ‘visible’), but at helping her learners access the meaning of ‘clumsy’. I argue that the Khayelitshan resources available in the classroom help her to take ‘clumsy’ out of the immediate context of the story and point to its more generic meaning. Other Khayelitshan resources that help the teacher in this quest are the verb ‘-enza’ (*do*) and the nouns ‘umntu’ (*a person*, here: *someone*) and ‘into’ (*a thing*, here: *something*). A general definition emerges: Someone is ‘clumsy’ when it is visible that s/he is doing ‘into angayiqhelanga’ (*something that s/he is not used to*).

The teacher’s use of ‘-qhela’ in ‘angayiqhelanga’ instead of the phrasal verb ‘used to’ in this sentence is also an interesting case. Phrasal verbs in research on second language learning are shown to sometimes pose problems for learners, especially if, in their familiar languaging, such verbs do not feature (Matlock & Heredia, 2002, p. 252), as is the case for Khayelitshan languaging. This can then cause “confusion as to whether a word such as *on*, as in *turn on*, is functioning as a particle in a phrasal verb or a preposition in a verb + preposition combination” (Matlock & Heredia, 2002, p. 252, emphasis in the original). In the example relevant here, in sentences like ‘They are doing something that they are not used to,’ the ‘to’ then is a particle in a phrasal verb whereas learners with limited access to Standard English know these little words as locative prepositions rather. Such complexities around phrasal verbs often lead to their avoidance – even by quite advanced learners (Matlock & Heredia, 2002, p. 257).

I argue that in this case ‘-qhela’ is a convenient resource firstly for the teacher herself to avoid a phrasal verb, because for example in Interview Excerpt d she produces this sentence: ‘Some children speak English full time, at home, the more that they used’ (d24), not complying with Standard English rules regarding the phrasal verb herself, so she might have some insecurities in this regard. Secondly, by using ‘-qhela’ instead she also avoids potential confusion on the part of the learners. A writing piece that will

be discussed in [6.2.5](#) also shows a learner employing an interesting strategy that could be interpreted as the avoidance of phrasal verbs, underlining the point that these Standard English resources might pose a particular challenge in the Khayelitshan English classroom.

In summary, this relanguaged sequence shows how heterogeneous resources offered by the classroom repertoire allow the teacher to not only make the content of the story more accessible but also to teach vocabulary, providing a general understanding of ‘clumsy’, so that learners may recruit it for their own purposes, not only when languaging in Khayelitsha but also when englishing. Further, the resources may also allow her to cover up her own insecurities regarding Standard English resources at certain points, as the example of ‘-qhela’ and phrasal verbs has suggested. Rather than demonstrating unconventional englishing that breaches the grammatical rules of Standard English, the teacher perhaps prefers to circumvent that scenario by drawing on the full classroom repertoire.

This example shows once more how manifold and complex the functions of classroom languaging can be. Existing conceptualisations of language that group together heterogeneous language practices under terms like code-switching or translanguaging in classroom research make rather general functions associable with such practices (discussed in [2.2.2](#) & [2.2.3](#)). These categories then tend to reify heterogeneous language practices as fundamentally different from homogenised ones. If we want to understand nuances of the strategies behind teachers’ classroom languaging in Khayelitsha, an analytical focus exclusively on linguistic heterogeneity makes us underestimate the situated linguistic complexity that lies exactly in the relationality of hetero- and homogeneity.

The spatial lens that allows for hetero- and homogeneity to indiscriminately be part of the same space is my suggestion to force us into taking complex details seriously, because we need to keep an eye on the constitution of the classroom repertoire and on how it changes. Relanguaging appears to be a useful descriptor so far, because looking for it means looking for the push-and-pull between linguistic heterogeneity and homogeneity, between fluidity and fixity. To show relanguaging, analysts are forced to look at exact wordings beyond the level of the sentence and at the details of feature combinations down to the level of morphology. Therefore we can no longer single out

one of the two dimensions of language. Functions of relanguaged language in the classroom – whether it materialises in englishing or classroom languaging – must in each instance be determined under the consideration of the momentary constitution of the classroom repertoire, the goal of the given activity and as much other ethnographic information as we can get our hands on.

4.5.2 Of grace and confidence

| Repetition of Lesson Transcript C (C7-C14) | |
|--|---|
| T = Teacher C = Class | bold print = language as read from the story normal print = classroom languaging / englishing <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |

7 **C: But soon it became more graceful and confident.**

8 **T:** But as an eagle flew, yaqalisa ke ngoku yaqhela, yomelela (... *it started getting*
9 *used to it and became strong*). Yayeka ukuthini? Ukoyika (*It stopped being what?*
10 *Being scared*). It stopped being scared. It got used to it as it was flying.
11 Iqhubekeka ukubhabha (*It continues to fly*). Yaphela isithini? (*It ended up doing*
12 *what?*) Iqhela (*It becomes used to it*) and it became confident. **It flew higher and**
13 **higher into the sky until it was just a tiny dot in the distance. It never**
14 **returned. It was an eagle, though it had been kept as a chicken.**

6

The last relanguaging circle ([Circle VII](#)) ended where this new one begins, with the sentence read from the story in C7:

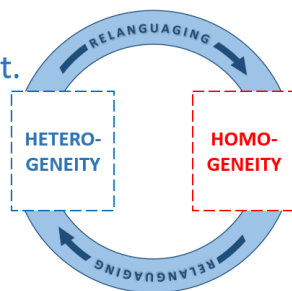
Circle VIII

Step 4 (C11-C12)

T: Iqhubekeka ukubhabha.
Yaphela isithini? Iqhela
and it became confident.

Step 2 (C8-C9)

T: But as an eagle
flew, yaqalisa ke
ngoku yaqhela,
yomelela. Yayeka
ukuthini? Ukoyika.



Step 1 (C7)

C: But soon it became more
graceful and confident.

Step 3 (C10)

T: It stopped being
scared. It got used to
it as it was flying.

Step 5 (C12-C14)

It flew higher and higher
into the sky until it was just
a tiny dot in the distance.

In **Step 1** the learners are confronted with the abstract adjectives ‘graceful’ and ‘confident’, used in the story to describe how the eagle’s flying improves. **Step 2** then shows how the teacher draws on the full classroom repertoire, having relanguaged these adjectives into more common, and less abstract Khayelitshan resources, while conveying the same message. Instead of ‘more graceful and confident’, in her relanguaged version the eagle ‘yaqhela, yomelela’ (*became used to [flying] and became strong*) and stopped ‘ukoyika’ (*being scared*). From this point where the classroom repertoire is unsorted, the teacher then sorts it out and englishes the next two sentences in **Step 3**. In her englishing she also moves away from the abstract adjectives ‘graceful’ and ‘confident’ and models instead the use of more accessible Standard English resources which are nevertheless challenging. For example in ‘It got used to it as it was flying’ (C10), the teacher demonstrates how to use the phrasal verb ‘to get used to’, which she seemed to still avoid earlier in the sequence.

The negotiation of the push-and-pull between heterogeneity and homogeneity in the teacher’s quest to get all learners on board is shown once again when she brings together Standard English and Khayelitshan resources in **Step 4**. ‘Iqhubekeka ukubhabha’ (*It continues to fly*) (C11) is interesting, because the teacher at this stage no longer uses the verb for ‘flying clumsily’ (‘-bhabhazela’) like she did in C2 (p.134), where the eagle’s clumsiness was the focus of her explanations. Instead she now uses ‘-bhabha’, which simply means ‘fly’, no longer integrating the element of clumsiness.

Without having to explain the adjective ‘graceful’, which would be of little use to the learners at this level, the teacher exploits the multi-layered and nuanced semantics of familiar verbs to illustrate the progression from ‘clumsy flying’ (‘-bhabhazela’) to ‘flying’ (‘-bhabha’). The teacher then rounds off [Step 4](#) of her relanguaging of this sequence with a return to the original vocabulary from the story when she says: ‘Iqhela and it became confident.’ Through this heterogeneous assemblage she positions ‘becoming confident’ as the result of ‘getting used to doing something’ (‘-qhela’) – an example of how classroom languaging in its heterogeneity can be assembled with an eye on Standard English. [Step 5](#) then shows the balancing of the classroom repertoire towards homogeneity again, as the last two sentences of the story are read.

Overall, even though the complexity of this passage requires the teacher to mostly relanguage in ways that bring together Standard English with a lot of Khayelitshan resources to keep the learners afloat, she also sorts those resources out in between and demonstrates how to english. In this sequence, for example, she circulates various Standard English resources in the classroom repertoire that do not feature in the story itself (‘get used to’, ‘stopping to be scared’ etc.) but that seem more useful for learners at this stage than words like ‘graceful’ and ‘confident’. It has been argued that the discourse practices in township English classrooms “are incompatible with the need to use the language at cognitively demanding levels in other subjects” (Kapp, 2004, p. 260)(Kapp, 2004, p. 260). I argue that here we actually see a teacher demonstrating for her learners a useful skill of rephrasing complex terms via more accessible language and thereby also giving them the opportunity to pick up Standard English vocabulary and phrases that they can realistically employ and that are useful beyond the English classroom. We, however, do need a high-resolution lens to see such detail, one that takes individual linguistic features seriously but still sees them as connected to the rest of the spatial repertoire. So far, spatially looking for relanguaging seems to allow for this.

This teacher’s relanguaging competencies with which she orders the classroom repertoire for purposes of English teaching in this complex linguistic space speak of her experience and routine as the pivotal figure between statist curriculum expectations that do not see local linguistic heterogeneity and the linguistic skills and struggles of her learners – she can see both sides of the equation and mediates between them. While this helps her in her teaching, it does not count into her score when departmental

officials measure her ability to teach or speak English via standardised tests (1.5). How the vision of state administrators could be broadened in this regard is a question that accompanies me through this work but for now we remain caught in the eagle story for a bit longer.

We have now arrived at the end of the story where the eagle flies away and never returns. At this point, 24 minutes of the 45-minute lesson have passed and the teacher has time left to discuss the story with the class. We will see that, as the language of the story retreats into the background, the teacher still uses relanguaging a lot to sort out the classroom repertoire, demonstrating englishing she deems accessible for her learners, less constrained by the complex Standard English of the story.

4.5.3 *Of eagles, human beings and Tarzan*

This part of the lesson begins with the teacher summarising the story briefly. Then she contextualises it by referring to human development, saying:

When you are small, you know nothing. You only learn the ways of human beings from the other human beings as you grow up. This eagle knows nothing about the life of an eagle, because it was taken away while it was very small. It was raised as a chicken, it was kept with the chicken, it learned the behaviour of the chicken (Grade 5 English Lesson 16.05.2016).

This piece forms part of her explanation and summary that stretches over about five minutes in total. What stands out in this snippet of that sequence is that it is englished all the way through. We are therefore on the *sorting out* train of relanguaging here that produces englishing. In fact, the last part of the lesson, where the teacher is no longer directly engaging with the Standard English of the story, features several larger chunks of englishing that the teacher then does not relanguage (heterogenise) again. She therefore quite often foregrounds the statist repertoire of Standard English, a point I will return to later. For now, content is important.

The teacher spends some time comparing the experiences of the eagle in the story with those of human beings. For this purpose, she brings in the story of Tarzan (which some learners probably know in its Disney version), who grew up among apes and did not know how humans behaved until they actually arrived in the jungle. Tarzan's human heart, however, resulted in him getting married to another human being – just like the eagle eventually finds itself and flies, because 'it has the heart of an eagle.' After

having drawn this parallel, the teacher returns her focus to the eagle story and this is where Lesson Transcript D begins.

| Lesson Transcript D | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | normal print = classroom languaging / englishing |
| L = Learner (individual) | <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |

- 1 **T:** Now today we are talking about an eagle that was raised as a chicken. But when
2 it was placed on the highest mountain, it began to fly, even though he was never
3 taught to fly before. Nobody taught him how to fly but it just happened
4 automatically. Why? Because he is not a chicken, he is an eagle. What do you
5 learn from this story? Is this story too difficult for you? Is it difficult? What does
6 this story teach you? Likufundisa ntoni eli bali? (*What does this story teach you?*)
7 Yes! [to learner who raised his hand]
- 8 **L:** Ndithethe isiXhosa? (*Can I speak Xhosa?*)
- 9 **T:** Ewe (*Yes*).
- 10 **L:** Mna, eli bali lindifundisa ukuba ungabo yithatha enye into uyenze enye into (*As*
11 *for me, the story teaches me that you mustn't go and take one thing and change it*
12 *into something else*).
- 13 **T:** He says it teaches him that you mustn't take one thing and try to change it to
14 become something else. What do you say? “Ungabo yithatha enye into uyijike,
15 uyenze enye into,” utsho uLisakhanya⁵² (*“You mustn't take one thing and then*
16 *turn it into something else,” says Lisakhanya*). What do you think? Or what can
17 you say on that? When he says ‘ungabo yithatha’, which means you mustn't take
18 a horse, you mustn't tame it you must leave it in the wild [...]

As usual taking the heterogeneous classroom repertoire as the starting point, we can visualise this sequence in a relanguaging circle as well:

⁵² The learner's name has been changed.

Circle IX

Step 6 (D17-D18)

T: When he says 'ungabo yithatha', which means you mustn't take a horse...

Step 4 (D14-D15)

T: "Ungabo yithatha enye into uyijike, uyenze enye into", utsho uLisakhanya.

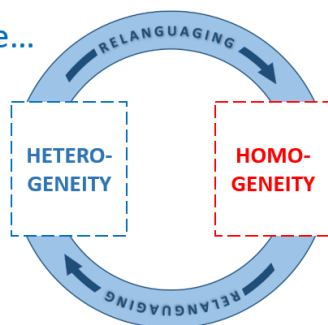
Step 2 (D6-D10)

T: Likufundisa ntoni eli bali? Yes!

L: Ndithethe isiXhosa?

T: Ewe.

L: Mna, eli bali lindifundisa ukuba ungabo yithatha enye into uyenze enye into.



Step 1 (D1-D6)

T: Now today we are talking about an eagle that was raised as a chicken.[...] What does this story teach you?

Step 3 (D13-D14)

T: He says it teaches him that you mustn't take one thing and try to change it to become something else. What do you say?

Step 5 (D16-D17)

T: What do you think? Or what can you say on that?

In **Step 1** the teacher only englishes in her summary of the story, having 'sorted out' all Khayelitshan resources. **Step 2**, beginning with her relanguaging of 'What does this story teach you?' into 'Likufundisa ntoni eli bali?' is an important act of reordering the classroom repertoire to allow for heterogeneity. It signals for the learners that her language policy for this exploratory activity of discussing the story is not English-only. Instead, the door to other linguistic possibilities is opened. As we will see later (6.1.1), there are also lessons (or one lesson in specific) where this teacher does for the most part not allow any linguistic fluidity. The fact that her classroom language policy is not always the same explains why the learner first ratifies that it really is ok at this point to respond 'in Xhosa' (D8).

Looking at his response (D10) an important conceptual point arises that needs clarification here. In the statist view what the learner produces here looks like Standard Xhosa, because it doesn't feature any resources that would fall outside the codified corpus of this named language. However, I have argued throughout this work that

codification in such a corpus is not a sufficient condition to speak about resources as ‘Xhosa’ or ‘English’ (e.g. in [4.2.1](#) & [4.4.2](#)). Instead we need to consider the linguistic space in which they are used and whether the relevant statist repertoire is folded into it as an ordering principle to orient towards or, in other words, to be watchful towards. I argue that Standard Xhosa is not a relevant ordering principle during the oral classroom activities I have been investigating here. Adherence to this code is not policed or consistently approximated by teachers – quite the opposite: As we will see in [6.1.1](#), learners are sometimes even encouraged to ‘code-switch’ so that they can practice englishing without having to homogenise the classroom repertoire completely. I have also shown in [4.2.1](#) (with regard to animal names), and will show with other examples throughout the rest of this chapter ([4.5.5](#) & [4.5.6](#)), that learners language freely in their responses, assembling a heterogeneous rather than a statist, homogenised repertoire. The point is that when this learner asks whether he can ‘speak Xhosa’, it is likely that he means whether he is confined to Standard English or if he is allowed to draw on familiar languaging resources. From this perspective, his response then merely *coincides* with what would elsewhere count as Standard Xhosa and is not a product of his watchful adherence to this code. In the space of the English classroom during this oral activity I therefore count his response as assembled from a heterogeneous repertoire without watchful adherence to Standard Xhosa. Accordingly, it appears in [Step 2](#) on the classroom languaging side of the relanguaging circle.

Turning now to this response it is insightful to look into the morphological details of its core part ‘ungabo yithatha enye into uyenze enye into’:

| | | | | | | | |
|--|---------|------------|-----|--------|------|---------|-------|
| u- | -nga- | [ham]b-[i] | u- | [y]o | yi- | thatha | |
| SM2S | SUBJNEG | go | you | go and | OM9 | take | |
| enye | into | u- | -y- | -enz- | -e | enye | into |
| one | thing | SM2S | OM9 | make | SUBJ | another | thing |
| (You mustn't go and take one thing and then change it into another thing.) | | | | | | | |

Throughout the whole lesson, the process of changing one thing into another had been discussed only with reference to concrete examples like the story of the eagle or of Tarzan. This learner now answers on a more abstract level, formulating a general

‘lesson learned’ from the story that can be applied beyond this immediate context. Instead of talking about the eagle or Tarzan, he speaks of ‘enye into’ (*one thing*) being made into ‘enye into’ (*another thing*). The learner’s use of ‘ungabo’, which is short for ‘ungahambi uyo-’ (*you mustn’t go and*) shows that he judged the man’s actions as morally problematic. Even though the learner is not englishing in his response, it still shows that through the teacher’s mediation he gained access to the content of this quite complicated story and is able to abstract and learn from it. The teacher, through her flexible language policy in the classroom, offers him the chance to express this understanding, while he might have been silenced had she insisted on a policy of monolingualism. I will show in [6.1.1](#) how learners are indeed silenced in a lesson where this same teacher insists on an ‘English-only’ language policy.

The teacher now picks up the learner’s response and sorts out the Khayelitshan resources, replacing them with Standard English ones, demonstrating for the class again the practice of englishing as it is instantiated in [Step 3 \(D13-D14\)](#). In [Step 4](#) she orients towards heterogeneity and accessible resources again by repeating the learner’s response in indirect speech ([D14-D15](#)). The *sorting out* of the classroom repertoire resulting in the englished questions in [Step 5](#) exemplifies what is typical for this teacher, namely that she almost always englishes the rather sedimented elements of classroom discourse that occur regularly and independently of the particular topic of the lesson – like these general questions addressed at her learners. Asked about a similar instance in interview she explains that she knows which words and expressions her learners can already access, because she uses them so regularly in class. She goes on to say: “I no longer code-switch when I get there” (Interview Grade 5 Teacher). This shows how she always has an eye on her learners and their linguistic skills and struggles and uses the opportunities she gets to expose them to familiar englishing so that they can ‘bank’ the words – an expression she used in interview for when learners really remember words and how to use them.

In [Step 6](#) as the last heterogenising move I discuss here, she uses part of the learner’s response to teach some vocabulary. She explicitly quotes the expression ‘ungabo yithatha’ and brings it together with Standard English resources to demonstrate how the same statement could be englished as ‘it means you mustn’t take ...’ Afterwards she provides examples of how men have tamed horses and other animals. The teacher here turns the linguistic features used by the learner into an opportunity for introducing

those resources needed to express the same within the confines of Standard English. This also sends the message to learners that their contributions are valued resources in the classroom – again a message that is emphasised by advocates of translingual pedagogy (Celic & Seltzer, 2011; García & Wei, 2014). I will illustrate this further with another example in the next section.

4.5.4 *To some it will appear as a question*

In reaction to the learner's contribution discussed above, the teacher gives a few examples of how humans have changed (i.e. domesticated) certain animals like horses and dogs. She then tells a personal story about how her own dog bit her on the weekend, even though it is domesticated and she feeds it every day. The teacher points out that somewhere in the back of their minds, dogs will always be wild. She then refers back to the story and goes on to say:

| Lesson Transcript E | |
|---------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | normal print = classroom languaging / englishing (<i>italics</i>) = (<i>englishing added by the author</i>) |

- 1 **T:** Somewhere somehow into oyiyo (*the thing that you are*) can be activated
- 2 automatically. [reprimands learner for disturbing the class] Into oyiyo (*the thing*
- 3 *that you are*), what you are can always come back to you. You can be changed but
- 4 what you are can always come back to you. This is not a chicken, it is an eagle. But
- 5 it was raised as a chicken. But it automatically started flying. No one taught it how
- 6 to fly but it flew, because it has the heart of an eagle. Ilukhozi ekugqibeleni (*It is*
- 7 *an eagle after all*).

In this sequence we observe mostly englishing. I argue that ordering the classroom repertoire to foreground Standard English resources is easier for the teacher in this part of the lesson, because her englishing is no longer directly dependent on – and entangled with – the resources from the story. Because those resources are often far out of reach for learners in Khayelitsha at the level of Grade 5, the teacher has to spend a lot of time relanguaging them, bringing them together with familiar resources in order to make them accessible. Now that the written material doesn't assert its presence so strongly anymore in the classroom repertoire, the teacher can choose more appropriate

Standard English resources. For example in E4 she does not have to integrate formulations like ‘it was an eagle, though it had been kept as a chicken’ (C14, p.134) with complex past tenses but can use simpler main clauses like ‘This is not a chicken, it is an eagle’ (E4).

There are indications here that, whenever the teacher engages less directly with the standardised written material, it becomes easier for her to foreground the linguistic homogeneity actually targeted in the classroom. Such findings add some nuance to research on classroom code-switching which has found that heterogeneous languaging often occurs when teachers directly engage with and mediate written text to learners (Ferguson, 2003). I want to emphasise at this point that written teaching material developed by educational authorities thus seems to actively prompt or even force teachers into classroom languaging, leaving them with less possibilities for englishing in ways that would be accessible for their learners. An understanding of languaging as a spatial practice and of speakers actualising *spatial* rather than *individual* repertoires means that the material actively shapes language use in the classroom – a point that needs to be considered in discussions about how English teaching in township classrooms could be optimised and that I will come back to throughout this work.

Returning to the details of Lesson Transcript E, the overall watchfulness towards Standard English displayed here makes ‘into oyiyo’ (E1-E2) and ‘ilukhozi ekugqibeleni’ (E6) appear as poignant interjections. While ‘ilukhozi ekugqibeleni’ summarises what the teacher said before, namely that the eagle is an eagle after all, we were interested in the role of ‘into oyiyo’ at the beginning of the sequence. We asked her if she thinks the learners would have understood the construction ‘what you are’, if she didn’t precede it with this Khayelitshan resource. She says:

| Interview Excerpt e | |
|---------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | R1 = Researcher 1 (Lara Krause, author) R2 = Researcher 2 (Tessa Dowling, supervisor) |

- 1 **T:** If I just said: ‘what you are’?
- 2 **R2:** Yes.
- 3 **T:** Some of them, not the whole class. Yes, some of them would have got it, but to
- 4 some it will appear as a question, because it starts with ‘what’.

5 **R1:** Ah interesting! I remember also that one lesson where you did: ‘Put this into a
6 question form,’ and some of them would keep the structure like a statement and
7 just put the ‘what’ and the question mark.

8 **T:** Yes.

9 **R1:** So ‘What you are?’ [and then] question mark, instead of: ‘What are you?’

10 **T:** To them it will sound as if I am saying: ‘What are you?’, yes.

11 **R1:** Interesting, I didn't ...

12 **R2:** Not: ‘What you are ... ’

13 **T:** ‘What you are ... ’ it's because of that word ‘what’, to them it will sound as a
14 question.

This example shows how, based on her experience, the teacher routinely anticipates which words will be problematic for the learners. Here, she makes the potential pitfall she sees around ‘what you are’ very explicit. Words like ‘who’, ‘when’, ‘where’, ‘why’ and ‘what’ are mainly taught and used as question words in class at this level, but advanced englishers would be able to distinguish this function from their function as relative pronouns. They also would be unlikely to take ‘what you are’ to be a question, given that the word order in Standard English indicates otherwise.

From e5-e7 of the interview excerpt, I reference another lesson of this teacher recorded on the 20th of April 2016, where learners had to change statements into questions. Many of them in fact responded by inserting a question word and a question mark, without changing the word order. This may be prompted by Khayelitshan languaging, where the word order in statements and questions is often identical. The teacher is therefore likely right to expect many of the learners to interpret ‘what you are’ as a question. They would then be unable to make sense of the abstract statement the teacher is trying to make here.

With ‘into oyiyo’ the teacher foregoes this potential confusion – another example of how detailed knowledge about the Standard English resources her learners likely can or cannot access guides her classroom languaging. By asking specific questions about particular languaging resources rather than focussing on when a ‘switch between languageS’ is said to occur, we here get nuanced insights into the teacher’s substantial background and motivational knowledge that shapes her classroom languaging. Contrary to public and partly academic discourse, township teachers often know a whole lot about Standard English and the specific challenges their learners face when

trying to access it. Teachers' expertise remains hugely underestimated if we do not look closely at their languaging, ask new questions and take time to listen (see also Bua-Lit Collective, 2018). The importance of teachers' local expertise will remain a focus throughout this thesis, but for now it is time to listen to another learner's comment on the story.

4.5.5 'Change' between a language and languaging

Shortly after Lesson Transcript E the teacher briefly returns to the Tarzan example again and remarks how he also 'was human after all', emphasising the connection between Tarzan's and the eagle's story. She then encourages learners again to share their own thoughts on the story and this is where the next lesson transcript starts.

| Lesson Transcript F | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | normal print = classroom languaging / englishing |
| L = Learner (individual) | <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |

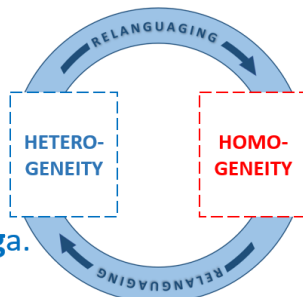
- 1 **L:** Ndinga ukuba mna Miss mhlawumbi ukuba ndizalwe ndilahlekele endaweni
- 2 efihlakeleyo umntu azame ukundichanga akanokwazi ukundichanga.
- 3 Angandichanga nje ngokwenyama kodwa mna ndiyazazi ndingubani (*I think that*
- 4 *for my part Miss, if maybe I was born and then got lost in a hidden place and*
- 5 *someone tried to change me, s/he would not be able to change me. S/he can*
- 6 *change me only physically but me, I know who I am).*
- 7 **T:** He says if someone can take him away and try to change him, he can always
- 8 remember who he is. It means that he won't change completely. At the back of his
- 9 mind he will always remember that: 'I am Akhona, even if I am trained to be that
- 10 whatever, to be that thing.' But at the back of his mind he will always know that:
- 11 'I am Akhona and it will never be easy to change me.'

I here want to first draw attention to a linguistic feature – a verb in this case – that retains a connection between the learner's contribution and the teacher's relanguaged Standard English version: 'change'. In the learner's response the verb appears three times in 'ukundichanga' and 'angandichanga' (F2-F3). In the teacher's version 'change' then appears stripped of Khayelitshan morphology in F7, F8 and F11. A look at the relanguaging circle illustrates this:

Circle X

Step 1 (F1-F3)

Miss mhlawumbi ukuba
ndizalwe ndilahlekele
endaweni efihlakeleyo
umntu azame
ukundichanga
akanokwazi ukundichanga.
Angandichanga nje
ngokwenyama kodwa
mna ndiyazazi ndingubani.



Step 2 (F7-F11)

He says if someone
can take him away and
try to **change** him,
he can always remember
who he is. It means that
he won't **change** completely.
At the back of his mind he
will always remember that:
'I am Akhona, even if I am
trained to be that whatever,
to be that thing.' But at
the back of his mind he will
always know that: 'I am
Akhona and it will never be
easy to **change** me.'

In contrast to 'train' discussed in [4.4.2](#), I have not heard 'change' used with Khayelitshan morphology anywhere apart from this occasion. Rather than enrolling a comparably sedimented part of the Khayelitshan repertoire in the classroom, it seems that here the learner assembles 'change' – a resource that was often used in this lesson – in situ with Khayelitshan morphology into a new meaning-making resources functional in this activity. If we remember how the Grade 4 and Grade 5 teacher spoke about their learners' ability to recognise morphological features as separable and mobile and to 'just put them together' ([d7](#), p.122), then it would seem that this 'putting together' is exactly what this learner demonstrates here with 'ukundichanga' and 'angandichanga' ([F2](#)).

When the teacher then relanguages this learner's contribution into accessible classroom englishing, 'change' remains. This verb here illustrates once more how English teaching in Khayelitsha is not an activity where teachers mediate between two languageS (Standard Xhosa and Standard English) but rather between a statist repertoire (Standard English) and classroom languaging, between 'a language' and languaging. Between these two poles, the teacher relanguages, ordering the classroom repertoire by sometimes restricting and homogenising it, to then open it up again,

taking advantage of heterogeneous possibilities. In her engagement with these two learners' contributions, this push-and-pull becomes especially evident as in their responses they make use of linguistic possibilities from the classroom repertoire that lie outside of Standard English and the teacher then relanguages them to fit the homogenised repertoire. So far the relanguaging model between hetero- and homogeneity therefore seems to work quite well. But this sequence, at a closer look, teaches the analyst a lesson in this regard.

4.5.6 *Stopping to see like a state*

What this learner has to say about the story by far exceeds what would be possible with the Standard English resources accessible to him at this stage. As the teacher modelled with the example of Tarzan, this learner transfers the insights from the story to his own life. The metaphorical expression 'ngokwenyama' (lit. *as flesh*) helps him to distinguish between changing completely – i.e. changing one's essence – and merely changing superficially while retaining an inner certainty about one's identity. To bring across even a roughly similar meaning to that of 'ngokwenyama', one could use the Standard English adverb 'physically' or maybe 'superficially', both resources that would be inaccessible for the majority of learners and also would not capture the metaphor of a person changing 'in flesh' but not 'in essence'.

The learner expresses this certainty about his essence or core identity via 'ndiyazazi ndingubani' (*I know who I am*). If we recall how the teacher argued in [4.5.4](#) that 'what you are' would be confusing for learners, because 'what' does not fulfil its more familiar function as a question word, we can see why 'who I am' would probably be just as difficult for learners to produce and to make meaning of.

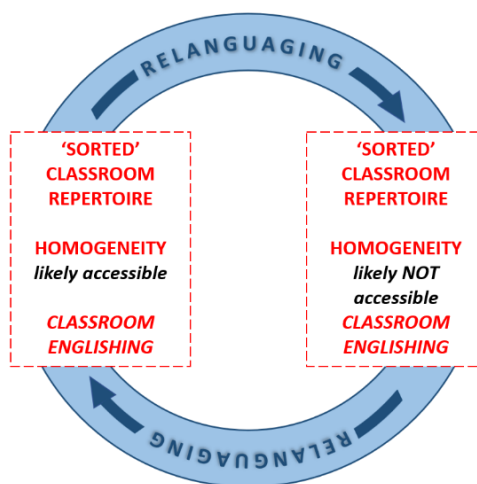
When the teacher relanguages this part of the learner's contribution, she first provides this version: 'He can always remember who he is' ([F7-F8](#)). But further down she turns back to her own statement, seemingly *sorting out* 'who he is' as a potential source of confusion by using direct speech: 'At the back of his mind he will always remember that: 'I am Akhona ... '' ([F8-F10](#)), and similarly again: 'He will always know that: 'I am Akhona and it will never be easy to change me'' ([F10-F11](#)). This is an example where relanguaging is *not* used to mediate between linguistic hetero- and homogeneity but where the teacher uses it within a homogenised classroom repertoire to replace inaccessible with more easily accessible Standard English resources. Relanguaging

can then also be an ordering practice within the confines of the statist repertoire, *sorting out* Standard English resources according to their likelihood of accessibility for learners. To illustrate this case, the relanguaging circle can be modified to look like this:

Circle XI

Step 2 (F8-F11)

At the back of his mind he will always remember that: 'I am Akhona, even if I am trained to be that whatever, to be that thing.' But at the back of his mind he will always know that: 'I am Akhona and it will never be easy to change me.'



Step 1 (F7-F8)

He says if someone can take him away and try to change him, he can always remember **who he is**. It means that he won't change completely.

From **Step 1** to **Step 2** 'who he is' gets sorted out. This is the point where the convenient binary between linguistic hetero- and homogeneity – along which I had first conceptualised relanguaging (2.4) – breaks down, because also in her relanguaged language the teacher is englishing, watchful towards the boundaries of Standard English. The break-down of this dichotomy shows that by spatially looking for relanguaging we can go beyond linguistically seeing like a state, because in fact the very distinction between linguistic heterogeneity and homogeneity is produced by the statist vision. If we stop seeing like a state and take individual linguistic features seriously, it becomes clear that linguistic homogeneity or heterogeneity do not necessarily signify different languaging or teaching strategies – indeed the two do not necessarily form a binary that legitimises separate analyses of one or the other. This is what happens if we take 'who' – and by extension linguistic features in their own right – seriously and this then is the radical counter perspective to the categorising, simplifying logic of the state that works via homogenisation and 'grouping together'. I will return to this conceptual point throughout this thesis.

Coming back to the concrete instance of the teacher relanguaging the learner's response, I argue that besides removing 'who he is' as a potential stumbling block, letting Akhona speak himself in direct speech also has the effect of showing him that his contribution is taken seriously and acknowledged as uniquely his. Instead of being penalised for not using English-only, his response is picked up by the teacher who models for the class what his contribution could sound like when englished. In this lesson she therefore manages to give her learners voice by allowing them to have their contributions heard but she also uses their responses as an opportunity for teaching the whole class to english.

Summing up this chapter in terms of relanguaging we can say that – excluding little episodes of classroom management – the teacher is engaged in this sorting practice all throughout this lesson. It is only during the last five minutes of learners' questions that she stops to relanguage – giving up control over the classroom repertoire and letting it emerge freely. Such an unregulated classroom repertoire in this case looked for example like this:

L: Ukuba impuku itya ipoison ieagle itye impuku kwenzeke ntoni kuyo? (*If a mouse eats poison and then the eagle eats the mouse, what happens to the eagle?*)

T: Uhh that is very difficult. Singaneeda iscientist to answer that (*We would need a scientist to answer that*).

This exchange shows the free actualisation of linguistic possibilities from a spatial repertoire where Standard English and Khayelitshan resources are folded into each other in the learner's question as well as in the teacher's response. We see no attempt of the teacher to sort out the linguistic features the learner used or to restrict herself to Standard English resources in her own response. There is no relanguaging – no need to order the classroom repertoire before actualising it – but just relaxed languaging as the lesson slowly comes to an end.

4.6 Chapter discussion

Through the pronounced focus on (often literally) small linguistic details in this chapter I have tried to provide a counter perspective to the categorising and simplifying

statist vision that usually manifests itself in linguistic analyses. As a consequence, I have to some degree asked different questions to those prevalent in studies on classroom code-switching and translanguaging. I did not inquire why resources associated with different languageS were used at particular points – a strategy that betrays a continuous conflation of linguistic features with languageS. Rather, I have grappled with dissolving this conflation and, in order to be less distracted by languageS, I attempted to analytically link linguistic features to space instead. This means I trained the spotlight on the fine grain of these features as elements of languaging as a spatial practice emerging from spatial repertoires. This brought forward new questions that guided my analytical inquiry and that were raised in the interviews with teachers:

- Are ‘ukhozi’ ([4.2.1](#)), ‘-fuya’ ([4.2.3](#)) and ‘because’ ([4.3.8](#)) Khayelitshan resources?
- What can ‘Ayiselulo ukhozi,’ do that ‘It is no longer an eagle,’ cannot do? ([4.3.5](#))
- Why does ‘ma-’ occur so frequently in this particular sequence? ([4.3.3](#))
- Why does the teacher use ‘-qequeshile’, ‘trained’ and ‘-trainile’ in that order? ([4.4](#))
- Would the learners understand ‘What you are...’ without ‘into oyiyo’? ([4.5.4](#))

Through the pursuit of these questions, some of the particular linguistic possibilities of the Khayelitshan English classroom became visible that distinguish it for example from ex-model C classrooms and of which I will here only repeat a few:

- a rich tense and aspect morphology that facilitates the creation of a clear timeline to guide learners through a complicated story (e.g. [4.3.2](#))
- the particle ‘ma-’, which helped to make explicit a voice of authority that remained a subtle undertone in the Standard English story (e.g. [4.3.3](#))
- a system of noun class agreement morphology that facilitates reference tracking in a story that is otherwise likely to sound opaque and inaccessible for learners (e.g. [4.3.6](#))

Understanding these particular affordances – which are normally either overlooked or regarded as disturbances – could inform the development of locally more appropriate English curricula and assessments. I will substantiate this argument further throughout

this thesis, especially when I engage with learners' writing in chapter 6. But for now I turn to what else asking questions like those mentioned above taught us about teaching and learning to English in Khayelitsha.

The teacher's remarks in reaction to our specific questions, such as: 'It was going to sound like a poem maybe' (4.3.1); 'Something would go wrong there if I didn't explain it to them' (4.3.5); or: 'Because of the word 'what' to them it will appear as a question' (4.5.4), have revealed the local knowledge, motivation and expertise that guides her classroom language practices. When being asked nuanced questions about the linguistic features she used in the classroom, the teacher provided us with extremely insightful accounts about her experiences with her learners. For example by asking her about '-qeeshile', '-trainile' and 'trained' (and the Grade 4 teacher about 'meanisha') we learned how teachers view their learners as able to treat Khayelitshan morphology as separable and mobile and to productively dis- and reassemble it – or: 'to sort it out' – in a quest to, for example, access Standard English vocabulary (4.4.3). These teachers, therefore, treat their learners as experienced in handling and shaping linguistic heterogeneity, quite different from educational administrations that categorise the same learners as monolingual speakers of Standard Xhosa, according to the logic of seeing like a state (comp. 1.3).

I have pointed out throughout this chapter how this statist logic that assigns codified and standardised languageS to territories and population groups – here Standard Xhosa to Khayelitsha – is indeed thwarted by the linguistic heterogeneity in the township, as the Grade 4 teacher had already explained in the opening quote to this thesis (1.1). Based for example on looking closely at animal names (4.2.1) and on tracing conjunctions like 'because' (4.3.8) or verbs like 'train' (4.4.2) through different spaces, I argued that what constitutes learners' familiar language practices can easily be misconstrued when linguistically seeing like a state, i.e. when being analytically guided by languageS. This then means for example *not to see* the morphology assembling skills that teachers ascribe to their learners and that we will see them display in their writing in chapter 6.

Taking Khayelitshan linguistic heterogeneity and fluidity seriously, my analyses have then further demonstrated that being an English teacher in Khayelitsha doesn't mean to mediate between a named home language and a foreign language, or between an L1

and an L2 in the classroom. Instead it means to negotiate linguistic heterogeneity and fluidity on the one hand and linguistic homogeneity and fixity on the other. This negotiation is instantiated in the process of relanguaging, via which the teacher here orders the classroom repertoire and that I have illustrated with various examples while ‘going along’ with the lesson as it unfolded. The advantage of this methodological principle of ‘going along’ was that I could illustrate how relanguaging means and accomplishes different things at different points of the classroom activity. This is best summarised by dividing the lesson into three phases:

Phase 1 – Reading activity

For the first half of the lesson, which was taken up by reading and relanguaging the Standard English story, the balance of the spatial repertoire tilts back and forth between Standard English – as instantiated in its most homogenised form in the language of the story – and the heterogeneous linguistic resources of the full, unsorted classroom repertoire. The teacher reliably relanguages almost every sentence of the story, *bringing together* a variety of resources into in situ assemblages that promise to facilitate access to the language of the story for her learners.

Regarding relanguaging as *sorting out*, the textbook plays the major role in this phase, as the balancing of the classroom repertoire towards homogeneity is mostly achieved through reading from the story. There are, however, instances (for example in [4.3.8](#) and [4.4.4](#)) where the teacher becomes the main agent and sorts out the Khayelitshan resources from her own classroom languaging, demonstrating how to english. The example of ‘why’ and ‘because’ has in this context illustrated how part of the English teacher’s task is to clarify that already familiar resources can count as Standard English in other spaces and that it is part of learning to english in Khayelitsha to understand this ([4.3.8](#)). I have argued that relanguaging as *sorting out* is then not only a mechanism that helps teachers to make this point but also a skill that learners have to acquire, because learning to english (and to xhosa) in Khayelitsha always means to learn to relanguage – to sort out heterogeneous spatial repertoires to produce homogenised, statist ones ([4.4.4](#)).

Phase 2 – Preparing for discussion

When the language of the story retreats into the background after the reading activity, we have seen the teacher summarising parts of it again and drawing parallels for example to the story of Tarzan ([4.5.3](#)). During this phase there are chunks of englishing where, for stretches of talk, the teacher is oriented almost exclusively towards Standard English. Such englishing is the result of relanguaging as a homogenising move of *sorting out* all Khayelitshan resources from the classroom repertoire and actualising only the Standard English ones. This move can become more prominent here, I argue, because she is no longer tied to directly mediating the rather dense and difficult Standard English from the story but can select freely those Standard English resources she deems appropriate – as in: accessible but also challenging enough for learners. Having to integrate the specific resources from the story seems more likely to induce relanguaging as a heterogenising move, as we have seen it in abundance during the reading activity.

Phase 3 – Engaging with learners’ contributions

In the last phase of the lesson the teacher engaged with learners’ contributions and questions. She allowed them to draw on the full classroom repertoire and then relanguaged their responses into classroom englishing. Here we saw relanguaging again as *sorting out*, a process starting from the heterogeneous classroom repertoire – in this case instantiated by the learners’ responses – and moving towards englishing ([4.5.3](#); [4.5.5](#) & [4.5.6](#)). Up to now, throughout the lesson the teacher was therefore shown to always mediate between heterogeneity and homogeneity – constantly either *sorting out* or *bringing together* Standard English and Khayelitshan resources in the classroom repertoire. But we have then also seen that linguistic hetero- and homogeneity are not necessarily the relevant categories that form the threshold at which relanguaging emerges. Instead it also occurred at the threshold of for learners likely inaccessible and likely accessible Standard English resources, as became clear when the teacher sorted out ‘who he is’ as a potential stumbling block for learners in [4.5.6](#). The mechanism remained the same but normally remains invisible, because no statist language-boundaries are crossed. I have argued that the point where linguistic hetero- and homogeneity are no longer necessarily an analytically relevant dichotomy marks the point where analysts stop seeing like a state and begin to really take individual linguistic features seriously. This is something that I have learned along the

way in this experiment and that I will try to continue to do throughout this thesis, because this way it seems that we can arrive at more complex accounts of classroom language practices that are not stuck on either side of the alleged languaging and languageS dichotomy.

I argued that, while translanguaging as a linguistic descriptor reproduces this dichotomy – where heterogeneous languaging is analysed separately from homogenised practices – relanguaging accommodates both dimensions of language and allows us to conceptualise them conjunctively. This has led to the analytical insight that relanguaging often brings forth a didactics of explicitness that is at play in the English classroom indiscriminately of heterogeneous classroom languaging or homogenised classroom englishing (e.g. [4.3.4](#) & [4.3.8](#)). This didactics of explicitness makes implicit information explicit and inaccessible Standard English resources accessible. It will become even more tangible in the classroom space in the next chapter, where I turn to classroom activities that include the relanguaging of a task instruction from a textbook and of a formal, departmental assessment task. Especially the latter scenario produces a space where the pressure for English-only is significant and brings forth a differently balanced classroom repertoire, as we will come to see.

5. Complexities around using and testing in Khayelitsha

5.1 Before beginning to use and to test

5.1.1 Moving into different relanguaging scenarios

The preceding chapter has given some insight into the reading and relanguaging of a story that led to a subsequent open discussion in class. The activity was therefore directed at encouraging learners to understand, relate to and engage with the story orally, and to teach them some new vocabulary along the way. Now I am moving into classroom activities that have different goals and in which additional factors play a role.

First, I analyse how the Grade 4 teacher relanguages a textbook task to which the learners have to respond in writing. The teacher will then walk around and check their written responses. In this case it is therefore essential that they gain not just a tentative but an exact understanding of the Standard English instruction, because whether they have understood or not would become apparent in their written responses in their workbooks. Those workbooks become material instantiations of learners' proficiency in SWE that can on occasion be investigated by parents or educational authorities beyond the classroom walls. Teachers told me that departmental subject advisors on their school visits do check learners' classroom workbooks. In some ways, therefore, more is at stake for teachers and learners in classroom activities directed at written outcomes and this sometimes influences teachers' language practices and how they order the classroom repertoire with them. I will for example show how relanguaging in these activities can become a mechanism to prepare learners – i.e. to give them the agency – to produce SWE in their responses.

This aim of relanguaging is also highly relevant in the second part of this chapter, where even more is at stake when Grade 5 learners write a formal departmental assessment task, about which it says in the CAPS policy for EFAL:

All assessment tasks that make up a formal programme of assessment for the year are regarded as Formal Assessment. Formal assessment tasks are marked and formally recorded by the teacher for progression and certification purposes. All Formal Assessment tasks are subject to moderation for the purpose of quality assurance and to ensure that appropriate standards are maintained (Department of Basic Education, 2011, p. 88).

Such moderation by the DBE, and as teachers told me, sometimes also school internally, means that the teachers' practices can be scrutinised as well with regard to how well they make their learners perform in these tests. Therefore, the analysis of this relatively high-stakes classroom activity in conjunction with assessment related statements the teacher makes in interview, tells a story that goes far beyond the classroom. It points to the influence that the demands, and the sometimes inaccessible texts, of a centralised assessment system have on the linguistic strategies that teachers develop. Such strategies serve to negotiate the expectations of Standard English monolingualism in the institutional space of the English classroom and the local, heterogeneous languaging realities of Khayelitshan learners.

5.1.2 *They are new to English and can't read*

We start in the Grade 4 English classroom. In this grade, learners are confronted with significant changes in their day-to-day schooling experiences as well as in testing situations. Not only are they adjusting to different teachers – from Grade 1 to Grade 3 one class teacher had been teaching them in all subjects – but also the official LoLT in all content subjects now changes. As discussed in [1.3](#), there where teachers and learners usually had to orient towards the statist repertoire of Standard Xhosa they now have to turn towards Standard English in all classroom activities. A side effect of this early-transition language policy model is that formal English teaching was a low priority in Grade 1 -3, because the focus was on practicing Standard Xhosa ([1.4](#)). English teaching in Grade 4 is therefore an especially complex undertaking, as the teacher often has to play catch-up to meet the EFAL curriculum demands while working with learners who are new to englishing – be it written or spoken – as well as comparatively new to activities typical for a language classroom, such as metalanguaging that is used to talk *about* linguistic features.

Alerting us to these challenges, the teacher in the following interview talks about Grade 4 as a linguistically particularly challenging year for learners, because “the language [English] is not ... it's new to them” (Interview Grade 4 Teacher). Later she comments extensively on her language use in class and why, in Grade 4, she finds it necessary to subvert the policy of speaking English-only:

| Interview Excerpt f | |
|---------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | R1 = Researcher 1 (Lara Krause, author) R2 = Researcher 2 (Tessa Dowling, supervisor) |

- 1 **T:** We are speaking English right through. We only speak Xhosa when it is Xhosa
- 2 period. As the...as it is required that we mustn't teach English and mix Xhosa.
- 3 That is not allowed. But we do it there in Grade 4, because they are new to these
- 4 subjects, you know. Most of the time they were taught in Xhosa. All the subjects.
- 5 Only in Grade 4 where they start now, learning about English all the subjects. So
- 6 at least we do that switching over [into Xhosa].

In the beginning it seems like she is defending herself and her colleagues against the common stigma of township teachers ‘mixing’ languages when teaching English or ‘teaching English in Xhosa’ (Maile, 2004; Ndimande, 2012). She then, however, explains why abiding by the language policy in Grade 4 is not practical (see also Probyn, 2001, p. 263).

What she refers to as ‘switching over’ is analysed in detail in this chapter, using an example from one of her lessons. But before going into that, another excerpt from the same interview is of interest, as the teacher here comments on how it is particularly difficult for learners to read and understand instructions. This adds valuable background to the following analysis of data from her classroom, which revolves around a written task instruction, and is also relevant for the analysis of how the Grade 5 teacher later in this chapter mediates the instructions in assessment tasks.

| Interview Excerpt g | |
|---------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | R1 = Researcher 1 (Lara Krause, author) R2 = Researcher 2 (Tessa Dowling, supervisor) |

- 1 **R1:** And how do your learners cope with written examinations?
- 2 **T:** They, they find it difficult, like you know to read instructions. You are supposed
- 3 to, if it says 'Circle the correct answer,' so they must know what 'circle' means
- 4 [laughs]. Yah it's circle, ohhh.
- 5 **R1:** Is it specifically the instructions that are difficult?
- 6 **T:** It's the instructions and reading. Reading. They can't read. They can't cope
- 7 answering questions.
- 8 **R1:** So what do you do if you have an examination and you stand there, you...
- 9 **T:** You stand there, you give them papers but with the Grade 4's we used to at least
- 10 read with them. Some can understand when you read.
- 11 **R1:** Mhm when they...
- 12 **T:** Yah when you read for them. When you read, then they can understand but they
- 13 cannot read.

In g2-g4 this teacher refers specifically to instructional vocabulary (such as the imperative verb form ‘circle’) that is often unfamiliar to learners but essential in this

context. She also observes more generally that ‘They can’t read’ (g6). That learners have trouble reading SWE and need significant support, is consensus amongst the English teachers at Khayelitsha Primary as I have hinted at in 4.1.3, where the Grade 5 teacher explained why it is important to read and speak slowly in class. I have not observed any quiet reading activities during my time at the school. Teachers seem to agree that turning SWE into oral englishing makes it more accessible for learners. This is also how the Grade 4 teacher in focus here deals with this problem: She reads with, or for her learners (g12-g13), tilting the balance of the classroom repertoire towards the oral.

To understand these complications around reading we have to consider that up to Grade 4 learners practiced reading almost exclusively with Standard Written Xhosa (SWX). The example of ‘circle’ that the teacher gives (g3-g4) illustrates well how this is an important fact to consider if we want to understand why learners struggle with reading SWE. The orthographic conventions of SWX are very different from those of SWE. The letter ‘c’ in SWX for example always represents a dental click, whereas in SWE – as ‘circle’ shows perfectly – it can represent [s] or [k]. This possible ‘double-booking’ of one letter to represent two different sounds is not part of the orthographic conventions these learners are used to, where one letter occurring on its own generally only ever stands for one phoneme. Also, a consonant clusters like ‘rel’ wouldn’t occur in SWX, where consonants are mostly separated by vowels.⁵³ If one is familiar with SWX orthography only, then it would make sense for a word that sounds like ‘circle’ [‘s3:kl] to be spelled like this: ‘sekile’. Therefore, while many learners would know ‘circle’ from oral classroom languaging, or from Khayelitshan languaging even, seeing it written like this would not jog any memory.

In chapter 6 I will talk in more detail about the differences between the two orthographic conventions that Khayelitshan learners have to juggle when I analyse some learners’ writing. For now suffice it to say that turning SWE into oral englishing by reading the instructions out to learners is indeed likely to help their understanding, which might be severely limited if it hinged exclusively on deciphering SWE on their

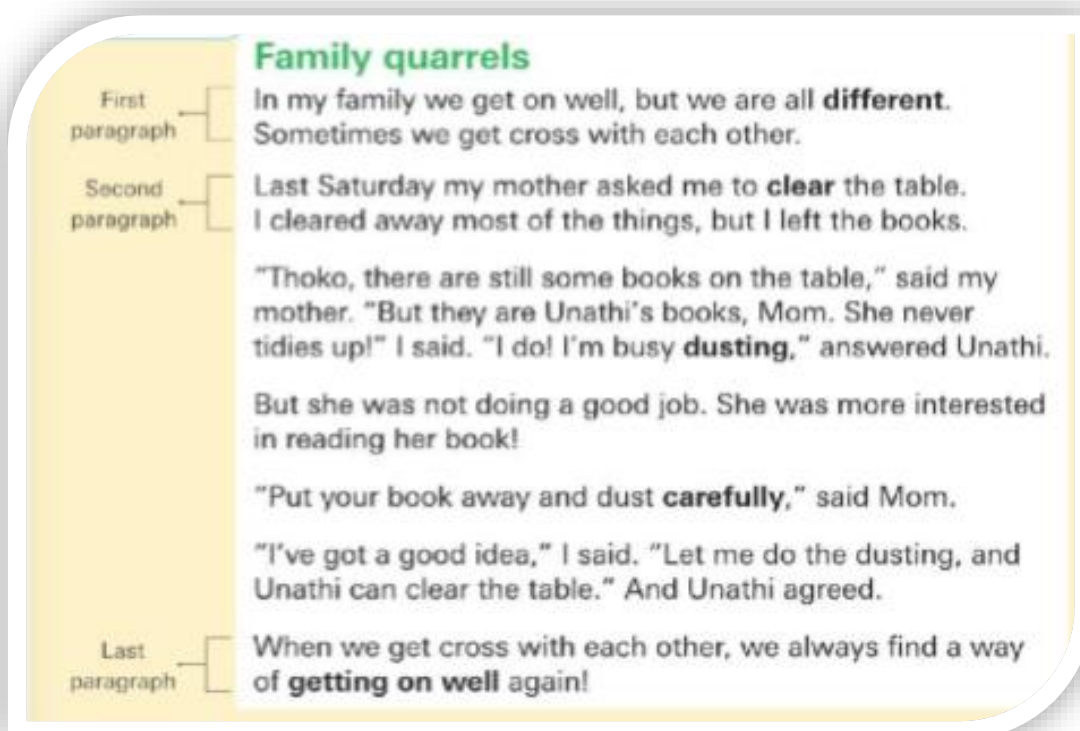
⁵³ This is a simplification as there are some consonant clusters, often for example with the letter ‘h’ that distinguishes some consonants to be either implosive or explosive (e.g. ‘b’ vs. ‘bh’). The letter ‘g’ can indicate a voiced alveolar stop, or it can indicate voicing in clicks (e.g. ‘gc’, ‘gx’ or ‘gq’). See for example Nurse and Philippson (2003) for more details on Bantu phonology.

own. Against this background I below turn to how the Grade 4 teacher quoted above mediates a task instruction in one of her English lessons.

5.1.3 Reading and relanguaging a story in Grade 4

As pointed out in her profile (3.3.2), this Grade 4 teacher was always busy and comparably reserved and gaining access to her classes was not easy. I therefore did not get a chance to observe a formal test being written in her classroom. However, the teacher's languaging when supporting learners to understand specific instructions can also be illustrated well with reference to a regular teaching activity in her classroom that I was able to record on the 8th of February 2016. The teacher read the following story to the learners while they were looking at it in their departmental EFAL books:

Picture 1- Story in Grade 4



Source: Baker, Edwards, Ralenala, Swanepoel, and Townsend (2012, p. 4)

The teacher begins by reading – turning the written text into presumably more accessible oral englishing. She also breaks the narrative up into pieces in a way that is similar to what the Grade 5 teacher did in chapter 4. Even though this is not the focus of this analysis, I here give a short insight into her relanguaging of a part of this story to illustrate some parallels and differences in the two teachers' practices.

When it comes to how the teacher mediates the Standard English of the story for the learners, however, we see parallels to the Grade 5 teacher's relanguaging. In G1-G2 she changes what is framed as a first person utterance in the story into the third person, indicating that Unathi from the story is now talked *about*. In G4 she relanguages '... she left the books,' into 'Akazisusa iibook' (*She did not remove the books*), and 'Clearisha yonke' (*Clear away everything*), then frames the focus word 'clear' she wants to teach the learners in the form of a heterogeneous classroom instruction to 'clear away everything'. After she here drew on the full ensemble of linguistic possibilities in the classroom she once again homogenises the spatial repertoire, *sorting out* the Khayelitshan resources and bringing her explanation of 'clear' back to Standard English resources ([G5-G8](#)).

The fine-grained linguistic details of this sequence and its pedagogical implications are discussed extensively in Dowling and Krause (2018), where this Grade 4 teacher's classroom practices are in focus. I here merely want to point out that the practice of relanguaging – of ordering the classroom repertoire to allow for heterogeneity and then to sort it out again through focussing on Standard English resources – is a prevalent push-and-pull across teachers.

'Akazisusa iibook,' and 'Clearisha yonke,' are not switches into a different code, neither do they display the transcendence of linguistic fixity. Rather, they are in situ assemblages (Canagarajah, 2018) of Standard English resources from the text with Khayelitshan affordances to form heterogeneous classroom languaging that is used to mediate access to Standard English resources. Describing this as translanguaging would make the suggestion that in assembling these forms the teacher is transcending standard languageS. But in this space I argue that she is using Khayelitshan morphology for shedding light on Standard English and is therefore *relanguaging* rather than *translanguaging* linguistic homogeneity.

From this glance at the reading activity I now turn to how the teacher relanguages a task instruction that relates to this story. I will focus in particular on one morphological device that – so I argue – is a great help in the teacher's quest to provide her learners with access to the SWE that constitutes this instruction. The analyses that follow are particularly microscopic and elaborate, given the fact that they mainly revolve around one morpheme: 'u-'. However, this deep-dive into the linguistic fine grain will make

visible the various affordances of this small feature that is a typical – and central – element of the Khayelitshan English classrooms and has so far remained hidden from analysts who were looking for translanguaging or code-switching.

For one, following ‘u-’ will illustrate how Khayelitshan English teachers take advantage of the particular affordances of heterogeneous linguistic resources – that are absent from Standard English – for metalinguistic and analytical purposes. But seeing what ‘u-’ can do then also begs a question that helps to further unsettle common-sense assumptions about language: What is ‘u-’? A Khayelitshan resource? A Standard Xhosa resource? An englishing resource? The answer that I suggest, namely that depending on the space ‘u-’ could be either of the above, will emerge from the investigations presented throughout [5.2](#).

5.2 What can u do?

5.2.1 Relanguaging the instruction

The task from the book is focused on learning ‘vocabulary in context’, as we see below in Picture 2. My analysis will revolve around task number 1.

Picture 2 - Task Instruction Grade 4

Vocabulary in context

Find the first and last paragraph of the story.

1. In the first paragraph find a word that means **angry**.
2. In the last paragraph find three words that mean **being friends**.

Source: Baker, Edwards et al. (2012, p. 5)

In this task learners have to identify ‘cross’ in the first paragraph ([Picture 1](#), p.164) as a synonym for ‘angry’. Keeping in mind the teacher’s remarks about how ‘English is new’ to the learners in Grade 4 and how they struggle to read and understand instructions, we now turn to how she relanguages this instruction and then to the details of the morphological tool-kit that she actualises from the classroom repertoire to help learners with the task. The following transcript from this lesson shows how she first introduces the task to the whole class. It is important to note that after this short

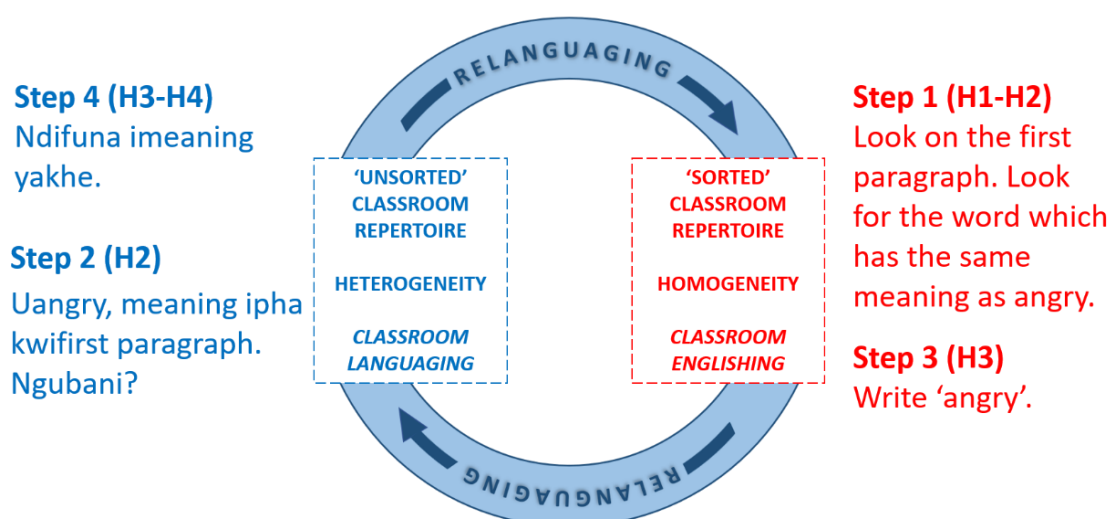
sequence, the teacher walks around for about six minutes, clarifying the task to different groups of learners. A task that, according to the curriculum, learners should just read and do by themselves. Because I am aiming at a very detailed analysis, I here focus only on her first introduction of the task to the whole class.

| Lesson Transcript H | |
|---------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | normal print = classroom languaging / englishing (<i>italics</i>) = (<i>englishing added by the author</i>) |

- 1 **T:** Look on the first paragraph. Look for the word which has the same meaning as
 2 angry. Uangry, meaning ipha kwifirst paragraph. Ngubani? (*'Angry', the meaning*
 3 *is there in the first paragraph. What is it?*) Write 'angry'. Ndifuna imeaning
 4 yakhe' (*I want its meaning*).

Even though the pink colouring of 'angry' in the instruction ([Picture 2](#)) would help learners to identify it as the focus word of this activity, the teacher still seems to judge the likelihood of them understanding the instruction to 'find a word that means angry' in the text as quite low, seeing that she mediates it in such detail. We now look into how she relanguages the task and the familiar circle is helpful in this regard:

Circle XII



In **Step 1** the teacher homogenises the classroom repertoire by orienting towards the written instruction. However, she doesn't read it out but already englishes a rephrased

variant of it. In **Step 2** she then brings together resources from the instruction with Khayelitshan resources from the classroom repertoire, producing heterogeneous classroom languaging. Amongst other things, her relanguaging here leads her to refer to the word 'angry' from the instruction as *uangry* by actualising a grammar affordance that will take centre stage in the analyses in this part of the chapter: the noun class prefix 'u-' (class 1a). **Step 3** then marks an important move of sorting 'u-' out again, which I will elaborate on in [5.2.6](#). In **Step 4** the teacher brings various resources together, with effects I will also discuss in [5.2.6](#). For now my focus will be on 'u-' and what it can do.

Code-switching studies of South African classroom settings similar to the one of this study offer examples of how linguistic forms like 'uangry' have been described so far. Probyn (2001) and de Klerk (2006) both observe that 'Xhosa' prefixes are being used in front of 'English' words (e.g. *i-water molecules*). Probyn hypothesises that this "Xhosalization" of words by using "mother tongue prefixes" is used to "to overcome the strangeness of the English terminology, to appropriate it and make it less alienating" (2001, p. 263). De Klerk concludes similarly "that teachers use this device [the 'Xhosa' prefix] in order to make foreign or scientific concepts sound more familiar or accessible to the Xhosa learners" (2006, pp. 136–137).

In translanguaging research in the context of a UK complementary school, Creese and Blackledge refer to similar linguistic forms as 'heteroglossic terms' like "*junglema* 'in the jungle,' *bookma* 'in the book,' *yearma* 'in the last year'" (2010, p. 110, emphasis in the original). The authors refuse to describe these terms with reference to languageS – "as either Gujarati or English or as English with a Gujarati suffix" (2010, p. 110) – and instead call them 'heteroglossic'. This sets them apart from the code-switching studies (in my case here de Klerk, 2006; Probyn, 2001) that talk about 'Xhosa' prefixes in front of 'English' words. However, also here, the authors allocate a very general function to these forms – namely that teachers use them "to keep the task moving forward" (2010, p. 110).

It seems that the underlying assumption in all three studies to some extent still is that what makes these linguistic forms per se interesting is that they contradict a monolingual norm. They don't fall in line with the statist vision. This makes them stand out and also makes it possible to assign quite general functions to them without

considering the specific details of their individual occurrences and the affordances that their morphology might offer in its own right. In the case of this relanguaged Grade 4 task instruction we asked more detailed questions.

Repetition Lesson Transcript H

T = Teacher

normal print = classroom languaging / englishing
(*italics*) = (*englishing added by the author*)

- 1 **T:** Look on the first paragraph. Look for the word which has the same meaning as
- 2 angry. Uangry, meaning ipha kwifirst paragraph. Ngubani? (*'Angry', the meaning*
- 3 *is there in the first paragraph. What is it?*) Write 'angry'. Ndifuna imeaning yakhe
- 4 (*I want its meaning*).

After playing this sequence for her, we asked the teacher if 'angry' could also be referred to as 'iangry' here (like 'imeaning' in H3), or if 'u-' (class 1a) and 'i-' (class 9) are not interchangeable here.

Interview Excerpt h

T = Teacher

R1 = Researcher 1 (Lara Krause, author)

R2 = Researcher 2 (Tessa Dowling, supervisor)

- 1 **R1:** If I would say: 'Faka iangry apha' (*Fill in 'angry' here*). Does that sound right?
- 2 **T:** Faka uangry (*Fill in 'angry'*). That means: 'Fill in eli gama, uangry' (*Fill in this*
- 3 *word: 'angry'*).
- 4 **R1:** Mhm, but you would never say: 'Fakela iangry,' you would always say: 'Fakela
- 5 uangry?'
- 6 **R2:** Xa uthetha ... (*When you speak ...*)
- 7 **T:** Yes xa ... fakela uangry (*Yes when ... fill in 'angry'*).
- 8 **R2:** Xa ubacacisela (*When you explain to them*).
- 9 **T:** Yah xa ubacacisela (*Yes when you explain to them*), when you explain it you will
- 10 say to them: 'Fakela uangry apha' (*Fill in 'angry' here*).

When I suggest in h1 to say 'iangry' instead of 'uangry' the teacher responds by repeating how she would say it, namely as 'Faka uangry!' She also explains that 'Faka uangry,' conveys the same meaning as 'Fill in eli gama, uangry' (*Fill in this word,*

‘angry’). I then repeat a variant of the same question to make absolutely sure the teacher had picked up that we were interested in whether ‘iangry’ would also be an option ([h4-h5](#)). She repeats that it has to be ‘uangry’ ([h7](#) & [h10](#)). ‘i-’ does not seem to afford her the same as what ‘u-’ does in this scenario.

While much has been written by Bantu linguists about class 9 (‘i-’) being the ‘default class’ for ‘loanwords’ in many Bantu languageS (Demuth, 2000; Ngcobo, 2013), not much information exists about noun class 1a with the prefix ‘u-’, except for the fact that it accommodates all kinship terms and proper names in the Bantu languageS it occurs in (Contini-Morava, 2008), Standard Xhosa being one of them. Recent research shows how ‘u-’ is also used to refer to social media platforms (e.g. uWhatsApp; uFacebook) and names of companies (e.g. uMercedes Benz) (Futuse, 2018). But to illuminate what ‘u-’ does in front of ‘angry’ in our instruction, one observation is particularly important, namely that the class 1a prefix is also used to refer to grammatical morphemes and phonemes. See for example: “u-thatha akamelwe na kukubhalwa nje: thabatha?” (*Shouldn’t ‘thatha’ be written ‘thabatha’?*) (Pahl et al., 1978, p. 14). In their grammar of Standard Xhosa (that is written in SWX), Pahl et al. also use class 1a frequently in their grammatical metalanguaging. For example when explaining the present tense formative ‘-ya-’ they write: “U-ya wakha imo ende yexesha langoku” (‘-ya-’ *builds the long form of the present tense*) (Pahl et al., 1971, p. 95).

An excursion into the other English classrooms at the school indeed shows the prevalence of ‘u-’ as such a metalanguaging device and helps to clarify the exact work it is doing for the teacher and the learners in the instruction in focus here.

5.2.2 Tracing *u* through other English classrooms

I observed that all three English teachers I followed at the school use ‘u-’ when talking about Standard English words. Below a few examples from different classrooms:

Grade 5 In a lesson about direct and indirect speech the teacher discusses the sentence: ‘Anelisa says: “I want to go to the centre.”’ A learner then asks if the ‘Anelisa says’ part could also be at the end of the construction. The teacher asks to clarify:

T: Umzekelo (*for example*) if the sentence was like ““I want to go to the centre,” says Anelisa.’ Do you mean it like that?

L: Yes.

T: If usays Anelisa was at the end?

L: Yes.

(Grade 5 English Lesson 18.05.2016)

Here, with ‘usays Anelisa’ the teacher recruits ‘u-’ to refer to the relevant piece of language, abstracting it from its normal context into metalanguage. For this abstraction Standard English would only offer quotation marks, which are written and only audible by way of difference in emphasis, which is likely to escape learners who are ‘new to English’. Also, the typical body languaging of showing quotation marks with fingers in the air is not available in this space – or at least I have never seen any teacher do it. With ‘u-’ as a morphological quotation marker the teacher can here unambiguously identify ‘Anelisa says’ as a particular linguistic item, one mobile chunk whose position in the sentence can now be discussed.

Grade 6 Reminding learners about conjunctions (or: joining words), the teacher says: “So ubecause, uotherwise, ubut, we call them what? Joining words” (Grade 6 English Lesson 03.02.2016). Note again that without ‘u-’ the teacher’s metalinguistic discussion of the conjunctions exclusively via Standard English resources would look (and sound) like this: ‘So because, otherwise, but, we call them what? Joining words.’

Without the ‘u-’ the words would become ordinary lexical items, not metalinguistic items. ‘because’ and the other conjunctions in this explanation would then run the risk of sounding exactly like when used as conjunctions in Standard English or in Khayelitshan languaging, since, as discussed in [4.3.8](#), such words are certainly part of the Khayelitshan repertoire. But the classroom repertoire offers ‘u-’ to circumvent such

potential confusion: the morphological version of quotation marks that is familiar and therefore easy to recognise for Khayelitshan learners. By using ‘u-’ the teacher now clearly objectifies and identifies the conjunctions as Standard English linguistic items abstracted from their normal context of use, turning them into objects of metalinguistic discussion. In this space, it is then a Khayelitshan morpheme that marks ‘because’ and ‘but’ as Standard English resources, showing the capability of Khayelitshan English teachers to enrol heterogeneous language resources that don’t exist in Standard English for analytical purposes.

Grade 7 The same teacher who also teaches Grade 6 here explains the make-up of the construction ‘white shirt’ like this: “Uwhite is an adjective and then now ushirt is a what? Is a verb? We say it's not a verb, we say what? It's a noun” (Grade 7 English Lesson 11.04.2016). Again, ‘u-’ makes clearly audible that the teacher is not using ‘white’ and ‘shirt’ in their respective syntactic functions as adjective and noun but is talking about them as Standard English linguistic items.

We have seen in chapter 4 how the teacher often explains in the interview that she chooses particular languaging resources, because she suspects that otherwise ‘things would go wrong’ (e.g. [4.3.5](#)) – i.e. learners wouldn’t understand or misunderstand what is meant. I argue that ‘u-’ is such a sedimented part of the classroom repertoire of all English classrooms and so frequently used, because it is an extremely efficient metalanguaging device that helps teachers forego potential confusion and saves them a lot of time spent on explanations and talk *about* language. It also – as the case of ‘because’ and ‘but’ shows – can mark linguistic items that could be used as both Standard English or as Khayelitshan resources as clearly used with watchfulness towards Standard English. What does this make ‘u-’? Clearly, in this space it is not a Standard Xhosa resource, because the entanglement of morphology with a fixed set of Standard Xhosa linguistic features like lexemes is unsettled. Neither can ‘u-’ suddenly become part of a statist (and therefore quite static) codified repertoire like Standard English. However, could we consider ‘u-’ to be an englishing resource? Let’s see.

5.2.3 Tracing *u* through teacher interviews

Sometimes in interview, teachers would also use the prefix ‘u-’ when elaborating on their classroom languaging. For example the Grade 4 teacher explains her use of the suffix *-ish-a*⁵⁵ (see Koopman, 1999 for an explanation of this suffix) on the verb ‘mean’ (in: *meanisha*) by saying that when she uses the verb form ‘-meanisha’, “they [the learners] get the word ‘mean’. Usha they know it's isiXhosa” (Interview Grade 4 Teacher). Even though in the interview she mostly adjusts her languaging to us as the interviewers, meaning she mostly englishes, she still recruits ‘u-’ to refer to ‘-sha’⁵⁶ when explaining the use of this grammatical morpheme to us. So yes, maybe we should consider ‘u-’ to be not just a Khayelitshan languaging but also as a potential englishing resource – depending on the space.

The Grade 6 teacher – asked about his use of ‘ubut’ in class – is apologetic about it, saying: “I’m mixing English and a Xhosa, which is a wrong thing,” and later adds: “‘u-’ is what, is not what we call, is not a language that we use in English” (Interview Grade 6 Teacher). Besides the point made by many scholars that teachers in and beyond South Africa feel bad about not adhering to official prescriptions of monolingualism in class (Probyn, 2009; Setati et al., 2002; Zentella, 1981), I find interesting here that he refers to the ‘u-’ as ‘a language’, a morpheme that is not supposed to pop up in Standard English and if it does it is seen as a disturbance, not as an additional resource. One could relanguage this teacher’s statement into a more positive view of his classroom languaging by saying: “‘u-’ is not a language that Standard English offers us but we can take it from the Khayelitshan repertoire and english with it.’

So far it has been shown that ‘u-’ facilitates the quoting of linguistic features on a metalinguistic level, emphasises their mobility and in some cases even marks potential Khayelitshan resources as Standard English ones. It therefore is a highly productive metalanguaging device that is accessible for teachers and learners in the Khayelitshan English classroom. The particular agency of ‘u-’ is likely to remain hidden in analyses that look for code-switching or translanguaging, like those quoted in [5.2.1](#). Here the

⁵⁵ She identifies *-ish-a* here only as *-sha*, not including the *-i-* in her discussion of it.

fact that a prefix ‘associated with one language’ is used in front of a word ‘associated with another language’ would be the linguistic event that attracts attention and that is said to have some general function – an analytical remnant of the conflation of linguistic features and languageS and therefore a remnant of seeing “in conformity to how the state sees” (Silverstein, 2014, p. 18). I do not argue against forms like ‘uangry’ and ‘imeaning’ having a certain familiarising function (de Klerk, 2006; Probyn, 2001) or helping in “moving the task forward” (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 110), however, in light of what has been discussed above about ‘u-’ alone, these conclusions appear undercomplex and it is unclear why such terms should generally ‘move tasks forward’ in ways that are different from ‘monolingual’ terms.

Being less distracted by assertions of language belonging or transcendence resulted in curiosity about the linguistic fine grain of ‘u-’ in its own right and following the morpheme through different spaces has helped in making visible what exactly it affords teachers and learners in these Khayelitshan English classrooms. This visibility is the result of trying to see less like a state in this analysis, giving prominence not to categories of terms but to linguistic features and their specific affordances.

This excursion into what uing accomplishes across teachers is necessary for determining the exact job this morpheme does in the Grade 4 task instruction I set out to discuss here and to which I now return.

5.2.4 Avoiding potential pitfalls with u

Chapter 4 has shown that teachers often anticipate which languaging resources could cause confusion or misunderstandings in class and through relanguaging they attempt to forego such difficulties by *sorting out* potential disturbances. To understand the role ‘u-’ plays in the original task instruction in Grade 4 ([Picture 2](#), p.167), I therefore suggest that it is firstly useful to think about the potential pitfalls this instruction could have posed, if the teacher hadn’t used ‘u-’.

Learners are likely to have encountered the word ‘angry’ most frequently together with a pronoun, for example when languaging in Khayelitsha, where it is often recruited as an adjective for utterances like: ‘Ndiangrý’ (*I am angry*). From classroom englishing at this level, learners would also be familiar with expressions like ‘I am angry,’ where ‘angry’ is preceded by a form of the verb ‘to be’. But in this instruction, ‘angry’

appears in a for them less predictable construction, preceded by ‘means’ (‘... find a word that means ‘angry’”), which is unusual, outside of language classrooms, because ‘means’ here points to a metalinguistic level. As indicated in [1.4](#), the preparatory English teaching in the earlier grades often does not happen and therefore, now in Grade 4, learners are relatively new to such metalanguaging.

Under these circumstances I argue that learners could easily miss the fact that ‘angry’ is in this instruction not used in its more conventional function as an adjective but is highlighted as a linguistic item that they are supposed to find a synonym for. Without ‘u-’ the form of ‘angry’ would sound identical when used as an adjective in ‘I am angry,’ and in ‘...find the word that means ‘angry’.’ Fluent englishers could infer these different meanings from differences in emphasis (‘hearing the inverted commas’) and context, but the Grade 4 learners here might easily be confused by these different uses of ‘angry’. Interpreting ‘angry’ as a linguistic item that they have to work with or get information from is, however, essential for understanding this task instruction. In light of what we have seen ‘u-’ do in other classrooms and in the interviews, I argue that this is what the use of *u*angry accomplishes here: It removes the adjective from its usual semantic context and makes it recognisable as an object of analysis.

This highlighting of Standard English items by recruiting ‘u-’ proves to be a strategy conventionalised across the English teachers in this study and is established independently in their respective classrooms. The morpheme ‘u-’ has certainly found its niche in the language classroom. It is a useful tool that allows teachers to forego confusion by seamlessly opening up a meta level on which linguistic features can be discussed in the abstract. Because ‘u-’ is an accessible resource for learners, since they know it from Khayelitshan languaging and are beginning to hear it from teachers in certain classroom contexts, it is a metalanguaging device which doesn’t have to be explained. Instead, teachers can trust in learners being familiar with ‘u-’ and can use it for analytical purposes.

The affordances of ‘u-’ in the task instruction are still only incompletely described. We further have to consider relations of morphological noun class agreement across this instruction to paint a more detailed picture of how the Grade 4 teacher here nudges learners into understanding this task. Therefore, I now turn to how she makes ‘uangry’

work together with other associated features from class 1a, but also to how class 9 plays a role in her relanguaged instruction.

5.2.5 From *uangry* to *ucross* by aligning other features with *u*

Repetition of Lesson Transcript H

- 1 **T:** Look on the first paragraph. Look for the word which has the same meaning as
- 2 angry. *Uangry*, meaning ipha kwifirst paragraph. Ngubani? (*'Angry', the meaning*
- 3 *is there in the first paragraph. What is it?*) Write 'angry'. Ndifuna imeaning yakhe
- 4 (*I want its meaning*).

After 'uangry' in H2 the teacher goes on to say that the meaning – we must interpret 'meaning' here as 'synonym' – of 'angry' is in the first paragraph ([Picture 1](#), p.164), and then asks: 'Ngubani?', morphologically made up like this:

ngu- -bani
COP1a who (*Who is it?*)

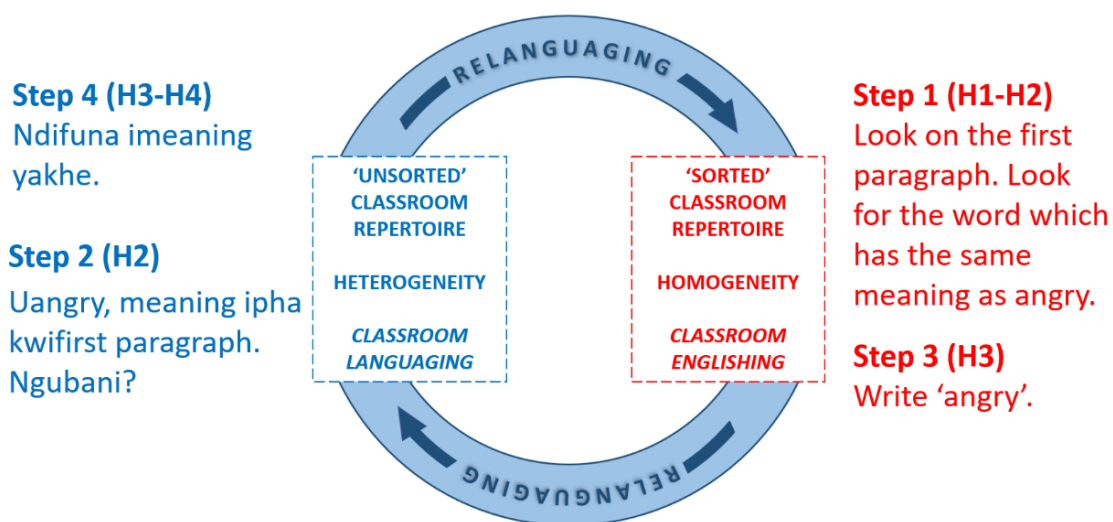
Compared to the Standard English option 'What is it?' where 'it' could refer to any noun, the 'ngu-' in 'Ngubani?' is a copulative used only with reference to a noun in class 1 or 1a and in this case the only possible referent is a noun in class 1a. The teacher, by using this particular form, therefore indicates that the anticipated answer in this context – the 'who' – is also a word that would fall into the same noun class as 'uangry', in this case the word 'cross' or 'ucross'. Thus the teacher mobilises the affordances of Khayelitshan languaging – such as referential tracking that I discussed in for example in [4.3.6](#) – with the result that the morphological agreement between 'uangry' and 'ngubani' gives learners here another hint to understand the task, namely that they are looking for one particular word in the first paragraph. To reinvoke the teacher's interview comment we could also say that the learners now know that they are searching 'eli gama' (*this word*) ([h2](#), p.170) that has the same meaning as 'angry'.

Therefore, looking at 'uangry' and 'Ngubani?' in conjunction helps us to see how the mobilisation of 'u-' in 'uangry' in turn induces other referential tracking devices like 'ngu-' that help in keeping tabs on 'angry' throughout the instruction. Below we will see more such devices that lead back to 'angry'.

5.2.6 Sorting out ‘u-’ and choosing ‘yakhe’ over ‘it’

But what about this word that the learners are looking for? How does it relate to ‘angry’ and what are they supposed to do with it? The way the teacher clarifies this is best explained by returning to the relanguaging circle:

Repetition of Circle XII



In **Step 3** the teacher says: ‘Write ‘angry’,’ because she wants the learners to write the word ‘angry’ into their workbooks first and then write its synonym ‘cross’ next to it, once they have found it in the text. What is essential here is the relanguaging move from **Step 2** to **Step 3**, because notably the teacher does not say ‘Write *u*angry.’ Instead, she sorts out ‘u-’ and says ‘Write ‘angry’,’ arguably because in this context ‘u-’ would be a potential source of confusion rather than clarification, as some learners might end up literally writing ‘uangry’ instead of ‘angry’. ‘u-’ would be a linguistic feature out of place in their English workbooks, because, as the Grade 6 teacher said: “‘u-’ is not a language that we use in English.” And indeed, while ‘u-’ can be an englishing device in oral metalanguaging, it is not ‘a language that we use in (Standard Written) English.’ Therefore, the homogenising relanguaging move from **Step 2** to **Step 3**, where the teacher sorts out ‘u-’, can be understood as a strategy that models what the learners have to do in order to produce the written language expected in this task – that is to sort out all resources that don’t count as SWE. We will see how relanguaging that prepares the production of SWE will also play a role in the second

half of this chapter (5.3), where the Grade 5 teacher needs to equip her learners with the agency to answer the test questions in writing.

After instructing the learners to write ‘angry’, [Step 4](#) then instantiates the outcome of relanguaging as *bringing together* various resources from the classroom repertoire again, as the teacher goes on to say: ‘Ndifuna imeaning yakhe’ (*I want its meaning*). This assemblage of linguistic features increases the odds for learners to precisely track that she is talking about the meaning of ‘angry’. This becomes clear when looking at the morphological make-up of ‘imeaning yakhe’:

| | | | | |
|------|----------|-------|------------|---------------|
| i- | -meaning | ya- | -khe | |
| NPx9 | meaning | POSS9 | POSSSTEM1a | (its meaning) |

We see that the possessive construction ‘yakhe’ is made up of two parts:

- (1) the possessive concord ‘ya-’, linking it to a noun in class 9 as the noun being possessed, here: ‘imeaning’
- (2) the possessive stem ‘-khe’, making clear that the possessor is a noun in class 1 or 1a, here: ‘uangry’ (1a)

Her use of ‘Ndifuna imeaning yakhe,’ conveniently narrows down possible referents as becomes clear when we compare it to imaginable Standard English alternatives like ‘I want its meaning,’ or, less literal, something like ‘I want to know what it means,’ which do not feature at all in the teacher’s almost six minute long mediation via classroom languaging and englishing when walking around from table to table. In fact, even though she englishes a lot in between in this sequence, the conventional pronoun ‘it’ appears only once in these six minutes when she says:

‘Write it: ‘angry’! Here is ‘angry’!’ [pointing to ‘angry’ in one learner’s book]

It stands out that by following ‘it’ up with ‘angry’ and then also pointing to it, she immediately clarifies what ‘it’ refers to and thereby foregoes potential referential confusion. Such confusion is likely, because the deictic pronoun ‘its’ or ‘it’ is far less specific with regard to noun reference than ‘yakhe’, as it could refer to any noun of neutral gender, while ‘yakhe’ here clearly shows that something in class 9 belongs to something in class 1a, namely ‘imeaning’ belongs to ‘uangry’.

Another reason for why it makes sense for the teacher to avoid ‘its’ for example in a formulation like ‘I want its meaning,’ is that it can easily be ambiguous for learners, because it could be taken to stand for ‘it is’ (*it’s*). Also, ‘its’ and ‘it’ often produce phonological ambiguity with ‘eats’ and ‘eat’ in Khayelitshan classrooms, as the Grade 5 teacher mentions. During a lesson on the 18th of May 2019, she spelled out the pronoun ‘it’ for her learners. Asked why she did so in interview she said:

Because sometimes they do confuse the spelling. We have *eat* [pronounces [ɪt] instead of standard IPA [i:t]] that means ‘to eat’ and the *it* [also pronounces [ɪt]] that means some, ‘a thing’, ‘something’. So sometimes I do have to spell it out to them (Interview Grade 5 Teacher).

In their classroom englishing, teachers and learners often draw on familiar patterns of vowel pronunciation from Khayelitshan languaging. Such pronunciation patterns reflect what has been described as a “lack of vowel length distinctions” in many Bantu languages that is reflected in “most African Englishes” (Mesthrie, 2005, p. 147). In cases where difference in vowel length in Standard English indicates a difference in meaning, there emerges a potential source of confusion. The teacher seems aware of that risk and has developed a strategy for such cases: spelling words out to learners. This example shows once again how teachers often base their classroom languaging and teaching strategies on their local expertise in anticipating which language resources could cause problems for their learners. I will discuss challenges emerging from present and absent vowel length distinctions more in chapter 6 in the context of learners’ writing. For now, the point is that another advantage of using ‘imeaning yakhe’ is that it avoids potential sources of confusion like ‘it’ or ‘its’ with regard to not only their referential but also their phonological ambiguity in this context. Relanguaging, I argue, can also mean to sort out potential linguistic stumbling blocks before actualising linguistic possibilities. Then, as we already saw in [4.5.6](#), linguistic hetero- and homogeneity are not necessarily relevant categories but high and low likelihood to cause confusion amongst learners might be the relevant concerns.

Regarding the Grade 4 task instruction in focus here, I argue that the unambiguous agreement markers of the noun classes in ‘Ndifuna imeaning yakhe,’ help the teacher to illuminate syntax and semantics of a Standard English instruction while foregoing many potential sources for especially referential but also phonological confusion.

5.2.7 *Towards a digestible but resistant instruction*

Otheguy et al. describe speakers as cooks “who can prepare attractive, exciting, delicious, intriguing meals” (2015, p. 285) with what is at their disposal, no matter how heterogeneous the ingredients and how formerly unknown their combination. The dish – i.e. the relanguaged version of the task instruction – that this Grade 4 teacher has created is certainly attractive in that it consists of ingredients that are more digestible for her learners than those of the original task.

Morphology from Khayelitshan languaging, especially noun class prefixes and corresponding agreement markers, are particularly useful ingredients, as they are mobilised as explicit markers for metalanguaging (like the ‘u-’ in ‘uangry’) and shed light on referential patterns in unfamiliar syntax (see also Dowling & Krause, 2018). Cooking as a spatial practice can sometimes offer useful metaphors to emphasise how teachers are relanguaging the classroom repertoire by strategically bringing various spatial elements (here linguistic resources) “into alignment with each other” (Pennycook, 2014, p. 1). The teacher’s choice of linguistic ingredients enables her learners to engage with the task at hand so they can end up with the synonyms ‘angry’ and ‘cross’ in their workbooks, without a written trace of all the other linguistic features that went into ‘cooking this up’.

We are, however, not in a kitchen but in an institutional space where languaging that exploits the full range of linguistic ingredients on offer is officially “not allowed” (Interview Grade 4 Teacher). It is not merely about what tastes good or works well but also about what adheres and doesn’t adhere to prescriptions of monolingualism in classrooms. Teachers’ awareness of how, in their classroom languaging, they often overstep the monolingual norms that govern the space of South African schooling is illustrated well by bringing together parts of two Interview Excerpts (f and d), one from the Grade 4 and one from the Grade 5 teacher, which have been quoted earlier:

| <u>Interview Excerpt f: f2-f6</u> Grade 4 Teacher (see also p.161) | <u>Interview Excerpt d: d22-d26</u> Grade 5 Teacher (see also p.122) |
|--|---|
| <p>It is required that we mustn't teach English and mix Xhosa. That is not allowed. But we do it there in Grade 4, because they are new to these subjects, you know. Most of the time they were taught in Xhosa. All the subjects. Only in Grade 4 where they start now, learning about English all the subjects. So at least we do that switching over.</p> | <p>At school [teacher training college] they said that when you teach English you mustn't do code-switching. But to me it came that here this is not a Model C School. Some children speak English full time, at home, the more that they used [sic]. The people that work there are Xhosa. When they go to buy they speak Xhosa when they pay at the till. So I just change it myself.</p> |

Each teacher provides a strong rationale for her heterogeneous classroom languaging – one relating to the early-transition language policy model and one relating to the limited access to Standard English that Khayelitshan learners have compared to children at ex-model C schools. In this light, their heterogeneous classroom language practices become informed acts of local resistance, because teachers knowingly subvert dominant ideologies of monolingual (English) teaching. This also means that while linguistic hetero- and homogeneity are no necessary conditions for relanguaging, they certainly at times form the threshold at which it emerges. Teachers know what seeing like a state entails – and that is the prescription of monolingualism and the scrutiny of linguistic heterogeneity – and they also know when their linguistic practices contradict the homogenising logic of that statist vision. These things considered, the instruction that was in focus in this first half of the chapter is then not only a relanguaged but also a resistant one, and ‘u-’, ‘i-’, ‘ya-’ and ‘-khe’ are the teacher’s local tools to build such resistance.

I will zoom into more such subversive language practices below, as I turn again to the Grade 5 teacher, this time in a lesson where a Formal Assessment Task (FAT) is written.

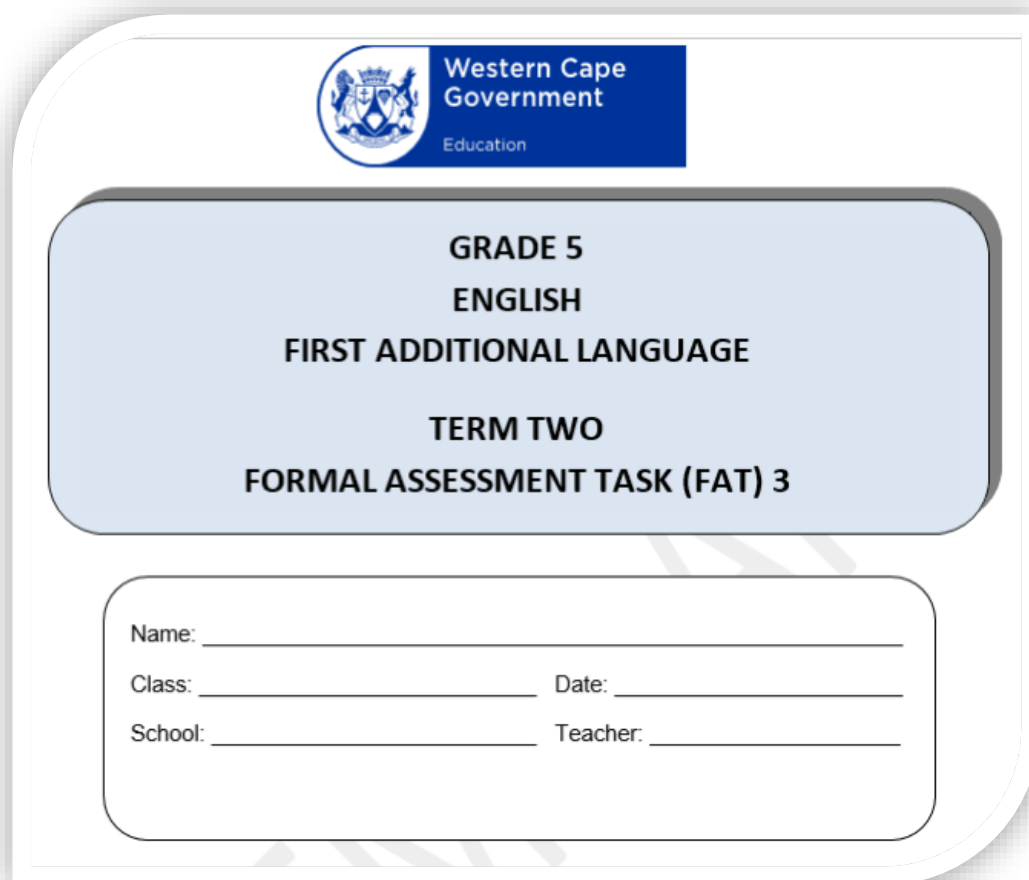
5.3 Assessment relanguaged to make the system work

5.3.1 The department is after you

The Grade 5 teacher was most supportive of my research and very open to having me in class in every situation (see [3.3.3](#)). As a result, I was also able to be present during this formal assessment activity on the 11th of May 2016. The test paper is a Formal Assessment Task (FAT) provided by the Western Cape Department of Education ([Appendix E](#)) as part of the CAPS curriculum and therefore accurately reflects departmental expectations regarding the Standard English resources that Grade 5 learners should control at this stage.

I mentioned in [5.1.1](#) that these FATs are marked by the respective teachers and the marks are formally recorded. Test outcomes are subject to moderation at the school and also through the Department of Basic Education. FATs consist of several separate tasks, each designed to test parts of one of the CAPS curriculum's four focus areas that are: "listening and speaking", "reading", "writing" and "language structures and conventions" (Department of Basic Education, 2011, p. 12). The task in focus here relates to 'listening and speaking'. The comprehension story is supposed to be read out in class by the teacher and then learners have to answer questions about it in writing to test their listening skills.

Picture 3 - Cover Page FAT



Western Cape Government
Education

**GRADE 5
ENGLISH
FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE
TERM TWO
FORMAL ASSESSMENT TASK (FAT) 3**

Name: _____
Class: _____ Date: _____
School: _____ Teacher: _____

Picture 3 shows a section from the cover page of the FAT in question, which brings together various pieces of traceable information. The emblem of the Western Cape Government at the top is symbolic for the increased presence of the state, i.e. for how official curriculum expectations, and the pressure for monolingualism that comes with them, assert their presence more strongly in a formal testing activity like this one. The spaces designated for the name of the school, the learner and the teacher then make these papers clearly associable with particular individuals. Therefore, when the departmental subject advisors check them, they can also make inferences about how good a job teachers are doing in preparing their learners for these assessments, i.e. how good a teacher they are. This is important background information to understand the pressure this teacher is under to make her learners pass the test, as she will explain herself below.

I will look at the teacher's relanguaging of the Standard English in the test paper in her quest to make it accessible and answerable for her learners. As in the foregoing

analyses, I will refer to several transcribed sequences of the test lesson and analyse them in conjunction with assessment related statements the teacher made in our two-hour long interview with her. The story is best told by beginning with one of those interview statements.

In the beginning of both assessment lessons that I was able to observe (only one of which will be discussed here), the teacher remarked – slightly irritated with learners who were unsure about the content of the test’s comprehension story – that they had already read the story three or four times in class and that she wondered why the learners still didn’t understand it. These remarks caught my attention, because I had assumed that learners wouldn’t get to see or hear about the details of the assessment tasks before the day they were to write it. I therefore pointed to these statements in the interview with the teacher:

| Interview Excerpt i | |
|---------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | R1 = Researcher 1 (Lara Krause, author) R2 = Researcher 2 (Tessa Dowling, supervisor) |

- 1 **R1:** Sometimes I've heard you say that you've said: 'We've read this story four times,
- 2 two or three times, before we're writing the exam and you still don't understand.'
- 3 **T:** Yes.
- 4 **R1:** So when did you do that reading?
- 5 **T:** When the paper comes, when I receive the paper on Friday, then I make the copy
- 6 of the story. We'll read the paper during the reading time.
- 7 **R1:** On a Monday?
- 8 **T:** On the same day. Then we read it again on Monday.
- 9 **R1:** And again on Tuesday.
- 10 **T:** And again on Tuesday, before we write it.
- 11 **R1:** And the department wants you to do that?
- 12 **T:** No, I chose to do it. No-one told me that I can do that. I just thought I must give
- 13 them a chance to understand the story more, to see the words, to be able to
- 14 understand. Because if you can come with the paper today, they are seeing the
- 15 story for the first time, they will write nothing. They won't understand at all.

Practices like this teacher's test coaching point to a rupture in the logic of a centralised curriculum and assessment system and the teacher's techniques to repair it. Lines i12-i15 show that she is aware that the designers of FATs expect that they will be administered uniformly across sites and all learners will write them immediately when seeing them for the first time. But she resists these departmental expectations and reshapes the testing activity by tailoring it – according to her teaching experience and resulting estimation of her learners' abilities – to what she thinks her class will be able to cope with.

She is convinced that if the learners were simply confronted with the test without such preparation, 'they will write nothing. They won't understand at all' (i15). On the same point a bit later in the interview she says that without her coaching "they would have written something that is totally out of the question" (Interview Grade 5 Teacher). Her description indicates that the Standard English resources in these FATs are often completely new to the learners. Accordingly, in order to 'give them a chance' (i12-i13) to more or less successfully answer the questions, she feels compelled to take action that subverts departmental and governmental expectations (i11-i12) in order to prepare learners to – at least on paper – satisfy these very same expectations. She feels real pressure to take such action, as the following interview excerpt shows:

| Interview Excerpt j | |
|---------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | R1 = Researcher 1 (Lara Krause, author) R2 = Researcher 2 (Tessa Dowling, supervisor) |

- 1 **T:** I become scared because the more learners that fail, the department is after you.
- 2 So you need to try by all means, you must be able to explain the case. Because
- 3 when we do the class work, the learner does good.
- 4 **R1:** Do you know what will happen if, let's say, the department would 'come after
- 5 you' as you said?
- 6 **T:** I don't know really, but I know that they need the learners to pass. You must make
- 7 sure that you don't get the high number of failures.

Here, the teacher describes some of the institutional dynamics around testing and grading that apply to township schools. Even though all assessment in the Intermediate Phase is school internal and the FATs from the department are marked by the teachers themselves, departmental subject advisors get insight into the marked papers. This is what she hints at in j1-j3 when she says she would come under pressure from the department if, for example, learners who normally perform well in class (as their workbooks would betray) would fail the test. Therefore, she is pushed into developing mechanisms to give her learners the agency to show their capabilities – which they might well display in their ‘class work’ (j3) – in the test, no matter how inaccessible the material is for them. Learners’ agency to answer the test questions then simultaneously gives the teacher agency to make educational authorities ‘see’ her as a well-performing teacher, not giving them a reason to ‘come after her’.

The description and analysis of the relanguaging mechanisms, via which the teacher mitigates this performance pressure on her and the learners that comes with the test paper, will take up the rest of this chapter. I will show what relanguaging can look like when it turns into a systematic preparation of a test coaching practice with which she increases the chances of her learners passing the test. A complexified relanguaging circle will illustrate how the teacher in this testing activity constantly has an eye on her learners and what they can master linguistically, and another on the statist demands for Standard English materialised in the test paper. The analyses of empirical linguistic data from this testing activity will provide insights into how township teachers negotiate their position in the wider system of South African education, because, so I argue, these negotiations are instantiated in their relanguaging.

5.3.2 *Oliver Twist and a complexified relanguaging circle*

The part of the FAT in focus here revolves around a comprehension story about Oliver Twist. This story is set in 19th century England and has “indeed travelled far in space-time and across socio-cultural contexts to become a test item here” (Prinsloo & Krause, 2019b, p. 2).

Comprehension Story in the Formal Assessment Task (Transcript I)⁵⁷

This is how the story text appears on the test paper (see [Appendix E](#), line numbering added here):

~~~~~

#### **OLIVER ASKS FOR MORE**

##### **Instructions:**

Listen as your teacher reads the story to you.

- 1 Oliver was even less happy in the workhouse than he had been with Mrs Mann. He
- 2 now had to work, which made him even hungrier. He was only given three meals of
- 3 thin watery soup a day, with an onion twice a week and half a small loaf of bread on
- 4 Sundays.
  
- 5 The room in which the boys were fed was a large stone hall. At one end a servant stood
- 6 and helped by one or two women, served the soup at meal times from a large pot. Each
- 7 boy had one small bowl and no more. The bowls never needed washing. The boys
- 8 polished them with their spoons till they shone. When they had done this, which never
- 9 took very long, they would sit staring with wide eyes at the pot, as if they could have
- 10 eaten even the metal of which it was made. They would also suck their fingers most
- 11 carefully to catch any splashes of soup that might have fallen on them.
  
- 12 Oliver Twist and his companions suffered the pains of slow starvation for three
- 13 months. At last they got so wild with hunger that one boy, who was tall for his age told
- 14 the others that unless he had another bowl of soup daily, he was afraid he might eat
- 15 the boy who slept next to him. He had a wild, hungry eye, and they fully believed him.
- 16 A council was held and one boy was picked to walk up to the servant after supper and
- 17 ask for more. The chosen boy was Oliver Twist.
  
- 18 The evening arrived and the boys took their places. The servant placed himself by the
- 19 pot, his assistants stood behind him and the soup was served out. It soon disappeared.
- 20 The boys whispered to each other and made signs at Oliver while his neighbours

---

<sup>57</sup> Although this is technically not a Lesson Transcript, I count it under the same category and use the capital letter referencing – we have arrived at ‘I’ at this point – for the lines as I refer to them throughout the analysis.

- 21 pushed him. Child though he was, his hunger gave him courage. He rose from the table  
22 and advanced towards the servant, bowl in hand.
- 23 “Please, sir, I want some more,” he said.
- 24 The servant was a fat, healthy man but he turned very pale. He looked in astonishment  
25 on the small rebel for some seconds.
- 26 “What!” he said at length in a faint voice.
- 27 “Please, sir, I want some more.”
- 28 The servant aimed a blow at Oliver’s head with his wooden spoon, then seized him in  
29 his arms and cried aloud for help.
- 30 Mr Bumble rushed into the room and was told of Oliver’s crime.
- 31 “Asked for more!” he exclaimed. “That boy will live to be hanged!”
- 32 Oliver was locked up at once. The workhouse officials discussed his case. As a result,  
33 a notice was next morning fixed outside of the gate, offering a reward of five pounds  
34 to anybody who would take Oliver Twist. In other words, five pounds and Oliver Twist  
35 would be given to any man or woman who wanted an apprentice to any trade or  
36 business.

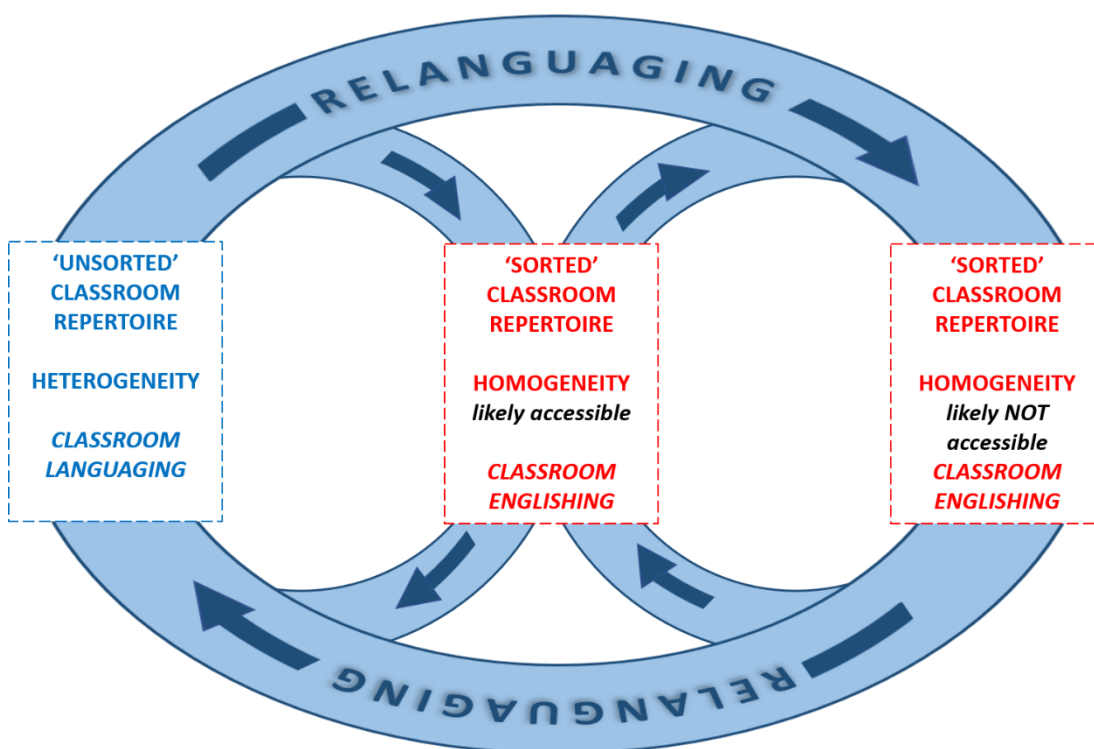
*Source: Charles Dickens - Oliver Twist*

~~~

Unlike in chapter 4, where my analyses unfolded strictly in the same order as the events in the story, here I first look into three sequences of the teacher’s relanguaged version of the story itself – one from the beginning and two from the main part. I then turn to how the teacher deals with the test questions. This last part makes it necessary to refer back to different parts of the narrative, in order to point out how the teacher might or might not have adjusted her relanguaging of the story during the earlier reading activity to prepare learners for the upcoming questions.

With regard to the ordering of the classroom repertoire we will see more relanguaging *within* Standard English throughout this testing activity but also instances of classroom languaging where Khayelitshan resources play a role. A complexified circle can help to visualise the main relanguaging moves and directions that will play a role throughout this testing activity:

Circle XIII



As usual, the analytical starting point is the unsorted classroom repertoire on the left, instantiated in heterogeneous classroom languaging. On the very right we have the homogenised repertoire instantiated in the SWE as the teacher reads it from the story, producing classroom englishing. In its original complexity this is likely inaccessible for learners. Between those two poles we then find less complex englishing that is homogeneous but more likely to be accessible. During this testing activity we will see a lot of relanguaging that circles within the sorted statist repertoire of Standard English between likely accessible and likely *not* accessible resources (red boxes). I argue that this reflects the teacher's increased watchfulness towards the statist repertoire. This is linked to the fact that – as mentioned in [5.3.1](#) – official demands for monolingualism assert their presence more strongly during an activity that is directed at written outcomes that will be marked and become visible to educational stakeholders beyond the classroom walls, documenting learners' – and by extension also teachers' – performance. Not only does the teacher therefore need to ensure that learners follow the lesson but, as she explained above, she also feels pressure to make her learners produce SWE responses that satisfy the demands of state education. Demonstrating

englishing to her learners and thereby preparing them for writing in SWE is therefore a central concern in this assessment activity.

At points where the teacher goes full circle in her relanguaging and includes Khayelitshan resources to produce classroom languaging (blue box), her focus seems to be somewhat more on satisfying the needs of her learners than on adhering to statist prescriptions. From left to right we can therefore also read this complexified circle as going from Khayelitshan learners (classroom languaging) via classroom englishing that tries to accommodate statist demands for homogeneity and the needs of learners simultaneously, to the linguistic expectations of state administrations and their agents as materialised in the SWE in the test paper. This is therefore a relanguaging circle that – in less linguistic terms – spans from Khayelitsha to the state.

Again, this is a schematic account of the relanguaging moves that will emerge in more complexity throughout the rest of this chapter as I dive into the detail of the linguistic features involved. I below begin by looking into how the teacher approaches, handles and shapes the opening sequence of the exam story (11-12) via relanguaging.

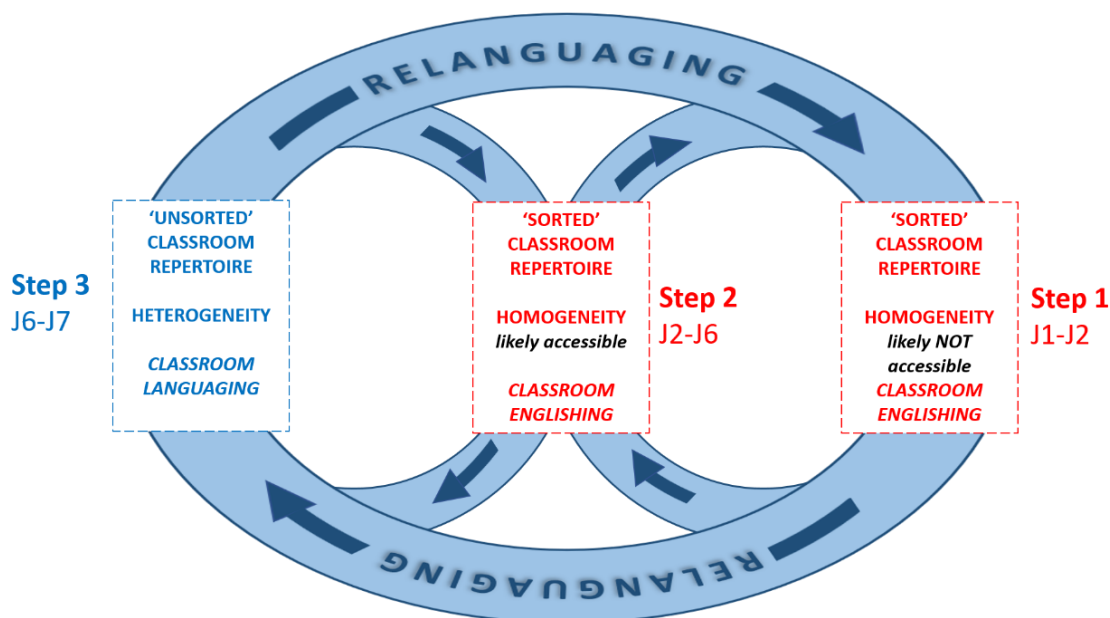
5.3.3 From no work to work and from a trans- to a re- perspective

| Lesson Transcript J | |
|---------------------|---|
| T = Teacher | bold print = language as read from the story normal print = classroom languaging / englishing <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |

- 1 **T: Oliver was even less happy in the workhouse than he had been with Misses**
- 2 **Mann. He now had to work, which made him even hungrier.** It means that
- 3 before Oliver went to stay at the workhouse, he first stayed with Misses Mann.
- 4 And in Misses Mann's house he didn't have to work, but now, since he is staying
- 5 at the workhouse, in the workhouse Oliver has to work now. It makes him even
- 6 more hungrier. Imlambisa ngakumbi into yokusebenza (*It makes him especially*
- 7 *hungry this thing of working*).

Because trying to represent the complete transcript within the complexified relanguaging circle becomes rather cluttered in this example, I here only refer to the relevant line numbers when illustrating the relanguaging moves:

Circle XIV



Step 1 shows the homogenisation accomplished by reading from the story. In **Step 2** she brings the resources from the story together with others from the classroom repertoire but remains watchful towards the confines of Standard English. In **Step 3** the teacher then steps outside of the statist repertoire with 'Imlambisa ngakumbi into yokusebenza,' to ensure her learners understand one of the central points from this passage. I now turn to the fine grain of this teacher's linguistic negotiation of statist demands and learners' needs in this assessment scenario.

Dissecting the original language from the story in J1-J2 reveals this little passage as grammatically dense and complex. Interpreting past tenses, comparative adjectives and a relative clause is necessary to decipher its meaning. The teacher steps in as a mediator and below I begin my analyses by considering how she reshapes the different past tenses in this opening passage into more accessible englishing (**Step 2**).

Being able to interpret the shift from simple past ('was') to past perfect ('had been') in J1 is important for understanding the sequence of events that Oliver *first* lived with Misses Mann and *then* went to live in the workhouse. When the teacher goes to work on this sequence, she relanguages it by *bringing together* the resources from the text

with others from the classroom repertoire but stays within an already homogenised classroom repertoire. The relanguaging mechanism is this time used to sort out the complex past tenses from the original passage and to bring the resources from the story together with simple past forms and the likely familiar Standard English adverbs of time ‘before’, ‘first’ (J3) and ‘now’ (J4-J5), illustrating the sequence of events. The importance of clarifying the order in which events occur in complex stories has been illustrated throughout 4.3, where this same teacher elaborately relanguaged Standard English verb forms in different past tenses via Khayelitshan tense and aspect morphology. In this case she abandons such morphology and instead actualises those possibilities that are familiar enough to learners but that count as Standard English (‘before’, ‘first’, ‘now’) for the same purpose. With the resources she chooses she therefore does shed light on the content of the Standard English test but also demonstrates englishing, which the learners will need in their written test responses. Again, the relanguaging mechanism at play here is the same as it was for example in 4.3.2, but in this case no statist language-boundaries are crossed and that is why this parallel is normally not found when looking for translanguaging or code-switching.

Besides the complex past tenses, in **Step 2** the teacher also attends to another part of this introductory passage where it states that Oliver is now ‘even less happy in the workhouse’, because his hunger is worsened by having to work (J1-J2). This implies that he did not have to work at Misses Mann’s house, where he lived before. This bit of information is, however, not made explicit in the story. From J4 to J5 the teacher makes it explicit by saying: ‘And in Misses Mann’s house he didn’t have to work, but now, since he is staying at the workhouse, in the workhouse Oliver has to work now.’ Here it shows that the teacher does not rely on her learners to infer this information from the original text. Also in those lines, she repeatedly mentions the words ‘work’ and ‘workhouse’, emphasising ‘work’ as an important theme of the passage. We saw this teacher making implicit information and subtle undertones explicit before, for example in her use of the hortative ‘ma-’ described in 4.3.4. I argue that we see the same didactics of explicitness here, just within the statist confines of Standard English.

As I have already argued with different examples in chapter 4, looking for *re-* instead of *translanguaging* allows us to see the parallels between these explicit-making strategies. On the look-out for a transcendence of languageS we can only discover the didactics of explicitness in chapter 4, because ‘maybe yichicken’ strikes us as made

up of resources associated with different languageS. In contrast to that, *re-* makes us look into the before-and-after, into different ways of saying things, into the dynamics of a linguistic space. As argued in [4.5.6](#), spatially looking for relanguaging doesn't confine us to seeing like a state, because it doesn't allow us a convenient 'either-or' focus on homo- or heterogeneity. We can then see the parallels between 'maybe yichicken' and 'in Misses Mann's house he didn't have to work,' which from a *trans-* perspective would fall into two completely different categories of language use – one translanguaging and one monolingual – and would therefore not be analysed conjunctively at all. *Re-* helps us see homogeneity and heterogeneity at the same time, *trans-* tempts us to leave one behind and remain dependent on the statist vision. And it is only the statist lens through which these strategies look different, because it makes us see in languageS. If we being from heterogeneity and languaging as the norm, then we see all the ways in which such strategies of explicit-making are actually the same.

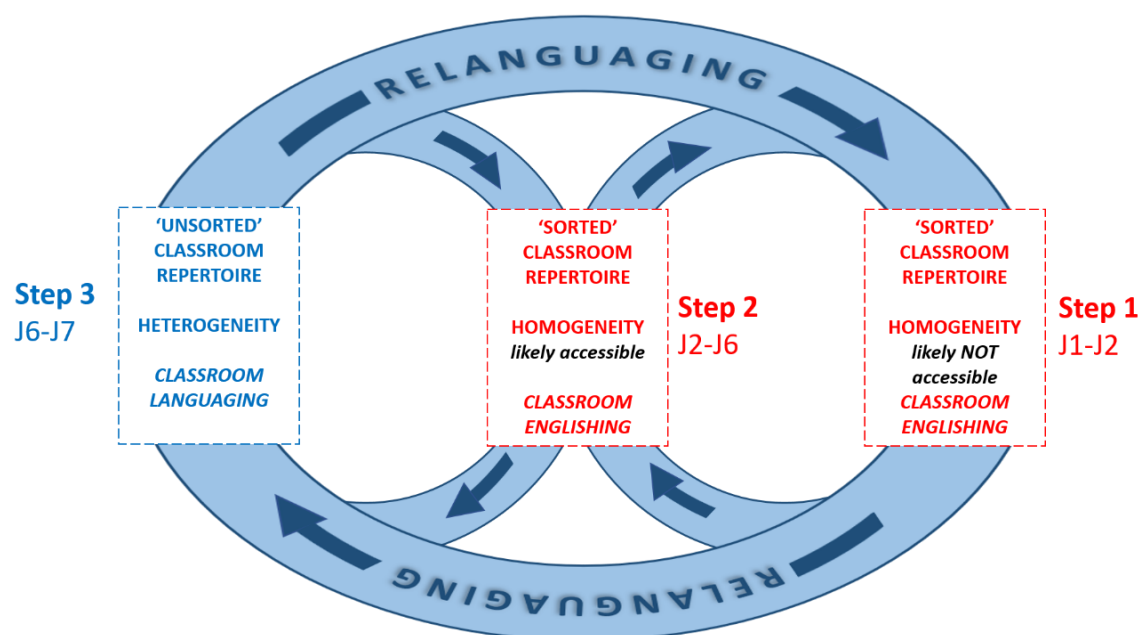
Coming back from that conceptual excursion we now follow the teacher when she moves on to clarify the causal connection between the fact that Oliver has to work now and that he is becoming hungrier – a task for which she brings together resources from the full classroom repertoire, including Khayelitshan ones.

5.3.4 Making Oliver hungrier via noun class agreement

| Repetition Lesson Transcript J | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| T = Teacher | bold print = language as read from the story normal print = classroom languaging / englishing <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |

- 1 **T: Oliver was even less happy in the workhouse than he had been with Misses**
- 2 **Mann. He now had to work, which made him even hungrier.** It means that
- 3 before Oliver went to stay at the workhouse, he first stayed with Misses Mann.
- 4 And in Misses Mann's house he didn't have to work, but now, since he is staying
- 5 at the workhouse, in the workhouse Oliver has to work now. It makes him even
- 6 more hungrier. Imlambisa ngakumbi into yokusebenza *(It makes him especially*
- 7 *hungry this thing of working).*

Repetition of Circle XIV



In the opening sequence the connection between working and becoming hungrier is described like this: ‘He now had to work, which made him even hungrier’ (J1-J2). This is a complex relative construction where the relative pronoun ‘which’ refers to a situation – Oliver having to work. Relanguaging the relative clause into more accessible classroom englishing as part of **Step 2**, the teacher first disentangles it from the main clause ‘He now had to work’. She relanguages this main clause first into: ‘... but now, since he is staying at the workhouse, in the workhouse Oliver has to work now’ (J4-J5). It stands out that she repeatedly emphasises the connection between Oliver staying in the workhouse and him having to work now.

Starting in J5, she now turns to ‘... which made him even hungrier,’ (J2) and relanguages this relative clause twice into:

1. It makes him even more hungrier (**Step 2**, J5-J6).
2. Imlambisa ngakumbi into yokusebenza (**Step 3**, J6).

In the first version she clarifies the comparative aspect of ‘even hungrier’ by adding ‘more’. This creates a rather unconventional phrase ‘even more hungrier’, but because it is likely to be familiar to learners, ‘more’ gives them a useful hint to decipher the meaning of the comparative adjective form ‘hungrier’.

In this version the teacher also uses ‘it’ as an anaphoric pronoun to refer to ‘the working’ that makes Oliver even hungrier. As discussed in [4.3.6](#) and in [5.2.6](#), ‘it’ is not a very clear reference tracking device for Khayelitshan learners, because of the multiplicity of its possible referents in a situation where a thorough understanding of the context cannot be presumed. In the second relanguaged version, when the teacher goes full circle ([Step 3](#)) and includes Khayelitshan resources, she facilitates clearer reference tracking by drawing on the often mentioned noun class agreement in Khayelitshan languaging that the learners are familiar with. This is best illustrated by looking into the morphological make up of this passage:

| | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|---------------|------|---|------------|------|-------|
| i- | -m- | -lamb- | -is- | -a | ngakumbi | in- | -to |
| SM9 | OM1a | become hungry | CAUS | FV | especially | NPx9 | thing |
| ya- | -uku- | -sebenz- | -a | <i>(It makes him especially hungry this</i> | | | |
| POSS9 | INFIN | work | FV | <i>thing of working.)</i> | | | |

The familiar language resources the teacher draws on here prevent possible confusion about what causes Oliver’s hunger. The initial ‘i-’ (SM9) in ‘imlambisa’ (*it makes him hungry*) signals agreement with a noun in class 9, here: ‘into’ (*the thing*), followed by the qualification ‘yokusebenza’ (*of working*). The agreement markers of class 9 make it clear that *the work* causes Oliver – here represented by ‘-m-’ as the OM1a for ‘uOliver’ in class 1a – to become hungrier. This is a critical understanding of causality that would have likely been lost to many learners when having to be inferred from the language of the story alone. With regard to clarifying referential relationships in this space, Khayelitshan morphology proves again to be a particularly useful set of linguistic possibilities in a didactics that makes these relationships more explicit than what Standard English would allow for. The fact that the teacher actualises them here, rather than continuously confining herself to Standard English, also shows that she now prioritises a clear understanding on the part of her learners over adherence to statist prescriptions of monolingualism. We could say she orients more towards her learners (left side of the relanguaging circle) than towards the state (right side) here. The fact that both orientations are open to her illustrates once more how she is the pivot between her learners’ linguistic realities and the official demands for Standard English (see also [4.5.2](#)).

I now undertake a little excursion into territory that is not the analytical focus of this thesis, which overall remains mostly concerned with traditionally *linguistic* elements of the classroom repertoire. In this particular activity, however, where the teacher is dealing with a text from a socially, spatially and historically very distant story, it seems important to consider how she tries to make what happens relatable for her learners. The morphemes and lexemes she uses cannot alone account for that.

5.3.5 Opening language up and bringing *Oliver Twist* to Khayelitsha

During her relanguaging of the Standard English story it seems that the teacher attempts to make it possible for the learners to imagine *Oliver Twist* and his companions as real people to whom they can relate. We jump forward in the test story to where the boys – especially one of them – begin to show their anger about being hungry at the workhouse ([I13-I15](#), p.188):

| Lesson Transcript K | |
|---------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | bold print = language as read from the story normal print = classroom languaging / englishing <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> <u>[underlined]</u> = [body languaging] |

- 1 **T: At last, they got so wild with hunger that one boy, who was tall for his age,**
2 **told the others that unless he had another bowl of soup daily, he was afraid**
3 **he might eat the boy who slept next to him.** Oh: At last that they got so wild
4 with hunger that one boy, who was tall for his age, I think that boy was like Likho
5 [turning towards and looking at Likho, a boy in class sitting in front to the left of
6 the teacher]. Likho is eleven years old like all of you guys but he's a little bit
7 bigger and tall for his age. They say one boy that was ahm tall for his age, told
8 the others that unless he had another bowl of soup daily, he was afraid he might
9 eat the boy who slept next to him. It means that that boy was so hungry, that he
10 wanted, or he was thinking of eating one boy, whatever boy, that will sleep next
11 to him. He was threatening the boys that: “No, unless I get more soup, I'm afraid
12 that I'm going to eat anyone that is going to sleep next to him.” Can you imagine?
13 Someone telling you that he's going to eat you! You will stay awake for the whole
14 night, you won't sleep, you'd be afraid that: “Maybe I won't see tomorrow.” Let's
15 see what happens then.

When the teacher in K4-K7 attends to the idiomatic expression ‘being tall for one’s age’, it is this time not familiar words or morphemes that take centre stage in her relanguaged version of it but a familiar body signified by a familiar name: Likho. Likho is a tall, rather strongly-built boy and he and his tall-for-his-age body are part of the classroom repertoire on this day during this assessment activity. By naming him and turning towards him, the teacher makes him and his body relevant to the activity (Kusters, Spotti, Swanwick, & Tapio, 2017) and uses him and his appearance as a meaning-making resource. This is reminiscent of Pennycook and Otsuji’s observation about food items and their role in market interactions. They say that “items such as yellow zucchini (the food rather than the linguistic form) play a mediating role in the metrolingual action” (2015, p. 8). Here it is also Likho as a body and a Khayelitshan boy that the teacher makes relevant as a resource to clarify the expression ‘being tall for one’s age’.

The advantage of the notion of spatial repertoire is that we can account for the fact that “virtually anything in our world can be enlisted to signify” (Baynham & Lee, 2019, p. 108). I argue that in the space of the English classroom, where activities are quite language focused, we could look at objects or bodies like Likho’s as languaging resources in fact not much different from the morpheme ‘u-’ discussed throughout 5.2. There we have seen how ‘u-’ was enrolled (by being uttered) to make the inverted commas around ‘angry’ *audible*. In this case, Likho’s body is enrolled (by being pointed at) to make the tall boy in the story *visible* in the classroom and also to relanguage the expression ‘being tall for one’s age’ into a bodily presence. Both ‘u-’ and ‘Likho’s body’ are part of the classroom repertoire and thereby potential languaging resources for this activity. It is then just the necessary processes of enrolment that are different: ‘u-’ has to be uttered, while ‘Likho’s body’ can be turned towards or pointed at. Once enrolled, however, ‘u-’ and ‘Likho’s body’ carry their semantics into the activity and co-constitute for example a relanguaged story.

In his physical presence, however, Likho’s body can do more than just help to illustrate and clarify the expression ‘being tall for one’s age’. I argue that, by making Likho relevant, the teacher transports a story character into the classroom, contracting the distance in space-time between the Oliver Twist story and the learners’ present realities. From K11-K12 the teacher now lets Likho (or the tall boy from the story?)

speak directly to the learners by relanguaging parts of the complicated indirect speech from the story ([K2-K3](#)) into direct speech, quoting the tall boy (or Likho from the classroom?). Through this direct speech version, the teacher firstly simplifies the language, as she for example drops the conditional forms ‘had’ and ‘might’, and secondly, she also turns her learners into potential addressees of the tall boy’s threat, involving them emotionally and blurring the line between this old, far-away story and the here-and-now in the classroom. Starting in K12 she builds on that by asking her learners directly: ‘Can you imagine?’, prompting them to put themselves into the shoes of the characters, imagining sleepless nights scared to be eaten by the tall boy (or by Likho?).

With the direct speech interludes and her recruitment of Likho the teacher relanguages this part of the story into a stage play of sorts, a tendency that the following sequence shows more clearly. At this point the boys had held a council and decided that Oliver, after this evening soup, must go to the servant and ask for more food. This transcript sets in when the boys had just finished their dinner ([I20-I21](#), p.189).

| Lesson Transcript L | |
|---------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | bold print = language as read from the story normal print = classroom languaging / englishing <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> <u>[underlined]</u> = [body languaging] |

- 1 **T: The boys whispered to each other and made the⁵⁸ signs at Oliver, while his**
- 2 **neighbours pushed him.** The, I think the boys were like this [moving her mouth
- 3 as if whispering, waving and making signs at the learners in class, imitating what
- 4 the boys do to Oliver]. Some guys were even pushing him [stepping forward
- 5 toward the learners, hands stretched out, pretending to push one of them], telling
- 6 him to go to the servant and ask for more soup.

The teacher here relanguages the description of whispering, sign-making and pushing in the story text into a stage-play-like performance. After her short introduction in L2, she relanguages the verb forms ‘whispered’ and ‘made signs’ into imitating mouth

⁵⁸ The article ‘the’ does not appear in the original text but the teacher inserts it while reading.

movements and waving at the learners as if sending them off somewhere. She also performs the action of pushing while verbally relanguaging the past tense form ‘pushed’ into the past continuous ‘were pushing’, emphasising the procedural character of the action that she is performing with her body. Linguistic resources here coproduce meaning with the actions that the teacher’s body is modelling – very similar to what Baynham and Lee observed about the verbal and embodied practices of a capoeira instructor during one of his sessions. The “elements fluently brought together” (2019, p. 112) are language and bodily movements.

Such fluent assembling of language and movements as a teaching strategy is described by the Grade 4 teacher in this study when we asked her in interview what advice she would give a new English teacher starting at Khayelitsha Primary with regard to how language is best used in the classroom. She said:

They must speak English and have actions, use gestures. Then if you say: “The boy falls [pretending to fall off her chair],” you know you must use that (Interview Grade 4 Teacher).

Even though we asked her specifically about advice for ‘language use’, she naturally includes embodied actions and gestures as essential elements of meaning-making, pointing to a somewhat restrictive and artificial conceptual divide between language and other modalities (Kusters et al., 2017). This is well illustrated by the Grade 5 teacher in this test lesson, who draws on languaging resources from morphemes to words, to bodies, via gestures to turning towards, naming and mimicking in her relanguaging of the test story into accessible languaging. The teacher appears almost like an actor or story-teller who performs by means of heterogeneous spatial elements that she assembles from the classroom repertoire into a “skillfully timed sequencing of reanimated words and reanimated actions” with the effect that “for a few lines, the audience can sustain the brief illusion of being witness to the actual event” (Streeck, 2009, p. 147).

Speaking about how she uses language and her body when mediating between a story and the learners, the Grade 5 teacher notes in interview:

They [the learners] love it a lot. They enjoy it. They pay more attention. Can you imagine coming to class you just read the story. No body language, no facial expressions. It won't be interesting to the learners. It won't at all. They need to see that and I like it generally. Even if I'm not in class, even in my

home, I like to play with my face and all that. The learners like it (Interview Grade 5 Teacher).

Despite my general focus on the traditionally linguistic elements of the classroom repertoire, what I have tried to demonstrate with the above examples is that the repertoire is not limited to such. Instead, in her quest to make *Oliver Twist* and his companions more present in the Khayelitshan classroom the teacher also recruits from and contributes to the classroom repertoire resources that do not conventionally count as language. The notion of spatial repertoires allows us to account for the fact that when teachers use “resources available at particular times and in particular spaces, they do not separate the linguistic from the embodied, but make meaning through repertoires of signs which integrate verbal and body action” (Blackledge & Creese, 2017, p. 255). Maybe under these circumstances it makes sense to describe the classroom repertoire as being “resemiotized” (Baynham & Lee, 2019, p. 160) into a different order rather than relanguaged. Or we could describe these repertoires of signs instead as *repertoires of heterogeneous languaging resources*, opening the notion of language and the discipline of linguistics up to include the conventionally non-linguistic. This is, however, a line of argument that I will not pursue further at this point, as I return my focus to those resources that traditionally count as *linguistic* features.

Looking into these rather entertaining elements of the teacher’s efforts, one could almost forget that we are in the middle of a formal testing activity. The teacher is still under pressure to ensure that most of her learners pass the test by producing acceptable SWE responses to the questions they will be asked about *Oliver’s* story. I below turn to one of these test questions. I show how the outcome of a particular part of the teacher’s relanguaging of the story – instead of being in the exciting and engaging story-telling style described above – presents itself as a highly strategic intervention to prepare learners to answer exactly this question later on.

5.3.6 Approaching the questions through relanguaging as test coaching

Below we see question 1.4 as presented in the test paper:

1.4 Why did the bowls never need washing? (1)

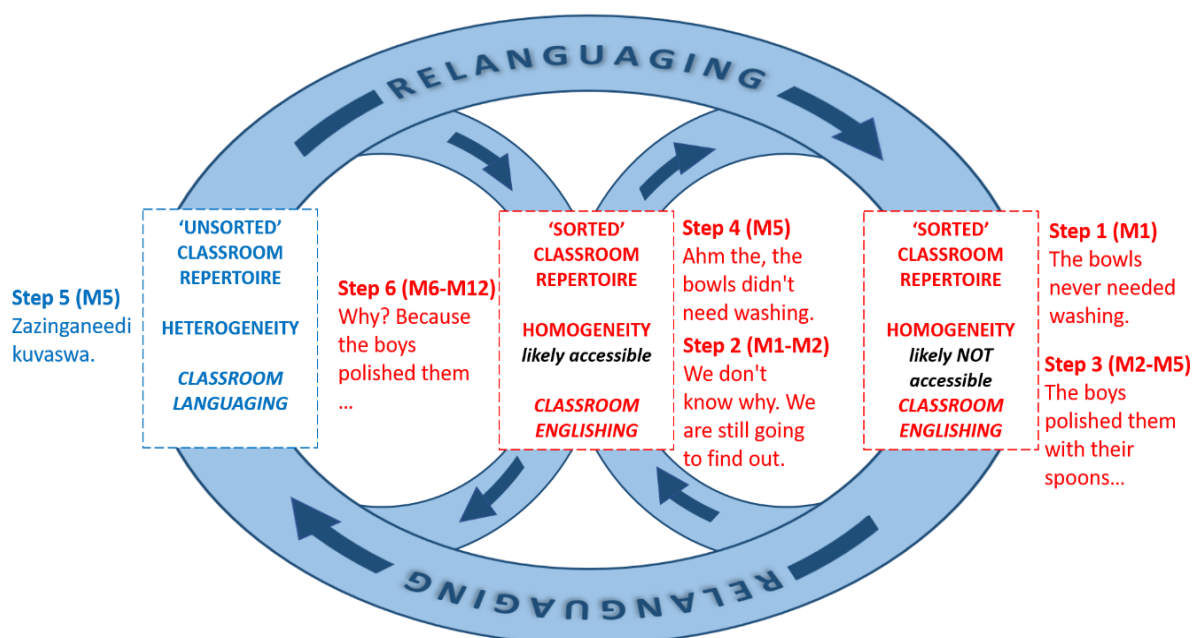
It refers to the part of the story that describes how the children in the workhouse get so little food that they polish their bowls in order to get as much soup out of them as they possibly can ([I7-I12](#), p.188). Therefore, those bowls don't need washing because they have already been polished clean. By looking more closely into the teacher's relanguaged version of I7-I12, we can see how she seamlessly includes an answer – or at least very detailed hints towards an answer – to question 1.4 into the relanguaged story.

| Lesson Transcript M | |
|---------------------|---|
| T = Teacher | bold print = language as read from the story normal print = classroom languaging / englishing <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |

- 1 **T: The bowls never needed washing.** We don't know why. We are still going to find
- 2 out. **The boys polished them with their spoons till they shone. When they had**
- 3 **done this, which never took very long, they would sit staring with their wide**
- 4 **eyes at the pot as if they could have eaten even the metal of which it was**
- 5 **made.** Ahm the, the bowls didn't need washing. Zazinganeedi kuvaswa (*They*
- 6 *didn't need to be washed*). Why? Because the boys polished them with their
- 7 spoons. They wiped them with their spoons. They wiped them so hard they, they
- 8 didn't even want to leave a drop of soup. They wanted to take away everything,
- 9 to try and fill their stomach. They say that soup in their bowls didn't take too long
- 10 to eat, because it was small. And their bowl never needed washing, because they
- 11 were wiped with the spoons. Who wiped the bowls? It was the boys. Why? They
- 12 never got enough. They wanted to get each and every drop of soup from that bowl.

With the complexified relanguaging circle we can visualise what the teacher is doing here:

Circle XV



Step 1 (M1) is the reading of the sentence that the test question refers to: 'The bowls never needed washing.' **Step 2 (M1-M2)** then is a little englished interlude with which the teacher already prompts her learners to think about why the bowls never needed washing and makes them anticipate an answer to that question in the course of the story. In **Step 3 (M2-M5)** she then reads two more highly complex sentences, featuring the irregular past tense verb 'shone' and opaque constructions such as 'would sit staring with their wide eyes' (M2-M5). But she does not attend to them much in her mediation. Instead, in **Step 4 (M5)** the teacher reverts back to 'The bowls never needed washing,' by relanguaging it first into: 'The bowls didn't need washing.' The next relanguaging move then leaves the middle box via the arrow at the bottom left, bringing the teacher full circle to the inclusion of Khayelitshan resources in **Step 5 (M5)**.

'Zazinganeedi kuvaswa,' underpins a point made in [4.4.2](#), namely that the same verb can be a Khayelitshan as well as a Standard English resource. The verb root '-need-' regularly features in Khayelitshan languaging. I have for example often heard people say – or said myself – 'Hayi, andiyineedi' (*No, I don't need it*). In this case, however,

because the verb ‘need’ appears in the original text (**‘The bowls never needed washing’**) and in the first relanguaged version (‘The bowls didn’t need washing’), it seems more accurate to describe ‘zazinganeedi’ as an in situ assemblage of ‘need’ as a resource from the story with some Khayelitshan morphology.

My focus in this sequence, however, is on [Step 6 \(M6-M12\)](#), where the teacher has sorted out the Khayelitshan resources again and – in accessible classroom englishing – follows ‘Zazinganeedi kuvaswa,’ up with ‘Why?’, to then basically model the answer to question 1.4 with: ‘Because they polished them with their spoons.’ Why-questions inducing because-answers are a re-occurring pattern in the English classroom and the teacher here brings it to her learners’ minds, preparing them, as I would argue, to produce a very similar because-answer to question 1.4 when they get there. From the complex sentences in M2-M5 she then only relanguages a few points in her mediation, leaving out how the bowls ‘shone’ or that the boys ‘could have eaten the metal of which they were made’. She therefore sorts out some chunks of the story that are linguistically complex and not immediately relevant to the test questions. Instead she focusses on providing her learners with as much inspiration as possible for approaching the test question from M6-M12. In the last two lines ([M11-M12](#)) she even simulates a question-and-answer game that summarises the essential points learners need to remember for question 1.4, namely: ‘Who wiped the bowls? It was the boys. Why? They never got enough. They wanted to get each and every⁵⁹ drop of soup from that bowl.’

Here we see how relanguaging, often a practice that attends to linguistic strengths and struggles of learners and is oriented towards making them understand Standard English as well as possible, can also be the basis for a test-coaching strategy aimed at making learners satisfy the demands of educational authorities instantiated in the test paper. The teacher’s focus is not on making learners understand *each and every* detail of what is going on in the story but on modelling for them exactly those Standard English resources that they will need in order to answer the question. This also explains why the teacher so stringently homogenises the classroom repertoire in this sequence and uses almost no Khayelitshan resources. I argue that she is setting the tone – or: ordering

⁵⁹ The expression ‘each and every’ is a typical feature of what scholars have described as ‘Black South African English’. See de Klerk (2003) for a discussion.

the repertoire – for the writing activity to follow, which will require a homogenised code: SWE. Here lies a parallel to what the Grade 4 teacher did with regard to ‘uangry’ (see [5.2.6](#)), where she used the morpheme as a metalanguaging device but sorted it out as soon she instructed learners on what to write.

Relanguaging, therefore – also here in the testing scenario – is amongst other things used to prepare learners for the production of SWE in their responses. In this endeavour, teachers need to focus on seeing language like a state, as bounded, separate and homogeneous, in order to give their learners the agency to comply with the linguistic demands of educational administrators in writing. Relanguaging therefore accomplishes different things in a classroom space where writing is involved or aimed at than when this is not the case (like in chapter 4).

After she is done coaching the test story, the teacher reads and relanguages the test questions, giving the learners time to write their answer after each question. Here is what she does when she gets to this much mentioned question 1.4:

| Transcript of Test Question 1.4 | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| T = Teacher | bold print = language as read from the story normal print = classroom languaging / englishing <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |

T: 1.4 Why did the bowls never need washing? Yintoni ebangela ukuba ezaa zitya zabo zingadingi kuvaswa? (*What is it that causes those bowls of theirs not to need washing?*) Why did the bowls never need washing?

First it stands out that when she gets to the test question, she relanguages it completely via Khayelitshan resources before she sorts them out again and repeats the original Standard English question. I argue that this has to do with the fact that, while she had already read the Oliver Twist story several times in class, the learners probably don’t know the questions yet. Additionally, as we have heard from the Grade 4 teacher in [5.1.2](#), learners seem to struggle in particular with the language used in instructions and questions. Teachers are therefore likely to use all resources at their disposal to ensure understanding, especially if the instructions and questions are part of a testing activity where learners’ answers will be marked and can become visible beyond the classroom

walls. Relanguaging as heterogenisation – as the *bringing together* of Standard English and Khayelitshan resources – therefore becomes more important again as the teacher is oriented towards the linguistic needs of her learners in order to provide them with the agency to approach and answer the test questions.

Returning to question 1.4, a Khayelitshan languaging version that stays closer to the original could have looked like this: ‘Kutheni ezaa zitya zingadingi kuvaswa?’ (*Why do the bowls not need washing?*) However, the teacher makes use of ‘yintoni’ (*what is it*), which in Khayelitshan languaging is an interrogative that would be answered by identifying something. Here the interrogative is followed by the relative clause ‘ebangela’ (*that causes*)⁶⁰ and I argue that together these languaging resources emphasise – more than the simple interrogative ‘why’ or ‘kutheni’ – that the learners need to identify something that has actively caused the bowls not to need washing. The teacher then repeats the original version of the question again, ending with ‘Why did the bowls never need washing?’ – a retreat into the confines of Standard English with ‘why’ conveniently signalling that a because-answer is wanted.

To sum up we can say that, compared to the eagle story in chapter 4, where the teacher gave very nuanced insights into every single sentence, the presence of the test questions makes her relanguaging more selective here. For example, we can see that she is evading some parts of the story ([M3-M4](#)), even though they are unlikely to be understood by the majority in class. In turn, she rather invests more time into story parts that learners will later be asked about in the test questions. She also integrates prefabricated question-and-answer games (e.g. ‘Why? Because the boys polished them with their spoons’ ([M6](#)); ‘Who wiped the bowls? It was the boys. Why? They never got enough’ ([M11](#))), giving attentive learners the chance to simply copy what she was saying as the answer to a test question. She therefore significantly increases the odds for them to master the test.

⁶⁰ The verb ‘-bangel-’ (*cause*) seems to be a useful resource for the teacher to relanguage cause and effect questions, as she uses it again in Question 1.6: ‘Explain what the effect was of Oliver’s request for more food?’, which she relanguages into “Ukucela kokunye ukutya kukaOliver kwaye kwabangela ntoni?” (*What did Oliver’s request for more food cause?*) This example is discussed in Prinsloo and Krause (2019b).

5.3.7 Reading a question in a way that is similar to the answer

In her quest to give her learners the agency to produce something that educational authorities recognise as valid SWE answers, the teacher undermines the way in which assessment is thought out to work as a measure of learners' ability to engage autonomously with testing material. This becomes even clearer when we look at question 1.7, the last question in the test. It differs from question 1.4, to which the answer could be drawn more or less literally from the story. This enabled the teacher to model a possible answer to the question while relanguaging the story itself. She does not, however, repeat this possible answer when it is time for the learners to answer question 1.4. This shows that she does to some extent take seriously that this is a testing activity and therefore she does not make it too easy for the learners.

But in question 1.7, learners are asked to reflect upon their own life in comparison to that of Oliver Twist:

1.7 Explain how your life is different to Oliver's life. (2)

Here, the teacher cannot sneak the answer into the relanguaged story, because there the learners' lives play no role. Rather, an answer to this question has to build on a more abstract understanding of Oliver's circumstances as narrated in the story, because Khayelitshan learners have to find a way of comparing their own lives to his. Even though in [5.3.5](#) I have shown that the teacher has done quite a bit to create a certain connection between her learners and the story characters, what she does with question 1.7 shows that she still doubts that they could master this task by themselves. Not only does she relanguage the question, but she arguably also answers it in large parts for her learners, as we can see below:

| Lesson Transcript N of Test Question 1.7 | |
|--|---|
| T = Teacher | bold print = language as read from the story normal print = classroom languaging / englishing <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |

- 1 **T: 1.7. Explain how your life is different to Oliver's life.** Chaza ukuba ubomi bakho
2 bohlukeka njani kokaOliver (*Explain how your life differs from that of Oliver*).
3 Remember, uOliver used to stay from one house or one place to another. To me
4 that on... that statement says that Oliver didn't have the parents. Because at the
5 beginning of the story they say, he used to stay with Misses Mann. From Misses
6 Mann's house he went to stay in the workhouse where he was starving for three
7 full months. Now the question is, explain how your life is different to Oliver's life.

How the Khayelitshan languaging resources in N1-N2 facilitate reference tracking for learners with regard to whose life is different from whose life has been demonstrated with other examples. Here, I want to focus on the rest of her explanation. First, she recaps how Oliver was always moving from place to place (N3). The 'u-' in 'uOliver' is again the noun class prefix from class 1a, which I discussed extensively in 5.2, here in its use before proper nouns (Contini-Morava, 2008; Futuse, 2018). Referring to Oliver as 'uOliver' – the Khayelitshan way, so to speak – has the effect of pulling the British boy into the Khayelitshan classroom, making him a child like any other there (uLikho, uAkhona etc.). Establishing this parallel is helpful in approaching a test question that asks Khayelitshan learners to compare their lives to that of Oliver.

The teacher's description of how Oliver is constantly moving to different places is then already a hint for those learners who are not constantly on the move, to quote this fact as a difference between their lives and Oliver's life when answering the question. She then goes on to explain that Oliver's varying places of residence indicate that he doesn't have parents. In the process, she adds information that is not contained in the story and thereby does the job of thinking beyond what is immediately evident in the text for her learners. We could interpret this as taking the *didactics of explicitness* to another level by providing learners with possible test answers. She also emphasises again the fact that Oliver was starving for three months, as if to remind the class that this is another factor that makes Oliver's life different. Again, it also stands out that

she only englishes from N3-N7, modelling the homogenised, sorted classroom repertoire learners have to actualise in their writing.

Because the teacher elaborates so much on this question and her hints at possible answers are quite obvious, we played this sequence for her in interview. In her reaction she first explains that she has a mix of very weak, mediocre and well performing learners in one class and goes on to say:

But because we lack time to divide the class into two when they are writing the examination, we end up, especially me, I end up ah reading a question in a way that is similar to the answer sometimes. That is very close to the answer (Interview G5 Teacher).

Asked about the consequences she expects when not giving the learners this type of help, she says: “If I can just read the questions, without making even one example, then half of the class will fail” (Interview Grade 5 Teacher). Even though she is aware, as she also points out, that her practices skew the test results, she sees no other way. This shows again how there is a rupture between the curriculum demands and what learners can reasonably master in Khayelitshan Grade 5 English classrooms. This rupture firstly has to do with the fact that the testing material bases on the assumption that learners received a lot of English teaching in the Foundation Phase – which is not a tenable assumption as I explained in [1.4](#). Secondly, in the schooling space of Khayelitsha Primary learners have to acquire two statist repertoires (Standard Xhosa and Standard English) early on. Coming with heterogeneous Khayelitshan languaging they therefore have plenty of linguistic *sorting out* to do, something that is also not taken into account in the development of teaching material and when testing for English in this setting.

However, instead of making this rupture between official linguistic expectations and local realities visible to departmental authorities via the learners’ marks (by actually letting ‘half the class fail’), this teacher has developed test coaching strategies that help learners produce at least some of the expected SWE responses – enough for most of them to pass. This leads back to what she said in an interview excerpt quoted in [5.3.1](#):

| | |
|--|--|
| Repetition of Interview Excerpt i (p.186) | |
| T = Teacher | R1 = Researcher 1 (Lara Krause, author) R2 = Researcher 2 (Tessa Dowling, supervisor) |

- 1 **T:** I become scared because the more learners that fail, the department is after you.
- 2 So you need to try by all means, you must be able to explain the case. Because
- 3 when we do the class work, the learner does good.
- 4 **R1:** Do you know what will happen if, let's say, the department would 'come after
- 5 you', as you said?
- 6 **T:** I don't know really, but I know that they need the learners to pass. You must make
- 7 sure that you don't get the high number of failures.

Her statements shows how she thinks that if she would not coach the test and actually let a lot of learners fail, the department would not take this as a hint that something might be wrong with the curriculum or centralised, standardised assessment. Rather, the blame would be put on her as the teacher and departmental authorities would 'come after her', because 'they need the learners to pass'.

Looking at what I have discussed in the introduction regarding the widespread tendency to make township teachers the scapegoats for the underperformance of their learners ([1.5](#)), this teacher is likely right in suspecting that she would be blamed by the department as well. The official narrative in South Africa is that ongoing educational inequality, which materialises in large differences between the results of learners in township and rural schools compared to ex-model C schools, "is not the fault of the curriculum, but the result of systemic non-curriculum causes," and one of the central causes is said to be "weak educator knowledge capacity" (Department of Education, 2017, p. 22).

With the prospect of having her competency – or indeed her very capacity for knowledge – questioned more readily than the administrative system that she is a part of, the teacher prefers to make it look as if she and her learners are coping with the curriculum demands instead of risking attracting any attention. With the arrival of the test paper in the classroom, relanguaging can therefore turn into a mechanism that facilitates a test coaching practice. It then becomes the pivotal process that allows the

teacher to give her learners the agency to pass tests. Relanguaging is then no longer so much part of a didactics that helps her learners gain access to Standard English but rather a tool to repair the rupture between curriculum expectations and the Khayelitshan linguistic and educational realities.

In light of what I have discussed up to now it is clear that relanguaging and what it accomplishes is always relative to space and needs to be described accordingly. Assertions of the general functions of heterogeneous language practices (Ferguson, 2009; García & Leiva, 2014; Probyn, 2015), be they described as code-switching or translanguaging, are not helpful to gain insight into the details of what matters when teaching and testing English in Khayelitsha. Instead, the spatial assemblage – here changed drastically by the test paper – is central for identifying the functions of particular language practices in classrooms and other spaces for that matter.

5.4 Chapter discussion

5.4.1 *Looking closely at u and Likho*

I have spent a substantial amount of time in this chapter on tracing the morpheme ‘u-’ through classrooms, teacher interviews and also through Bantu linguists’ work. These methods have helped in making visible why exactly ‘u-’ is so useful for the teachers and learners in this study. Uing was shown to be an example of how Khayelitshan teachers enrol heterogeneous languaging resources that are absent from Standard English for analytical purposes (5.2.2). ‘u-’ is used by all three English teachers in this study. It facilitates the quoting of linguistic elements in metalanguaging and can also be an englishing device, as it marks resources that might either be used as Khayelitshan or Standard English ones to be clearly enrolled as the latter in a particular space. Such insights into what appear to be minute details are valuable because they unsettle common sense assumptions about language. The Grade 6 teacher said ‘‘u-’ is not a language that we use in English,’ but actually it is sometimes exactly that: An englishing resource, a resource that is not codified as Standard English but used in watchfulness towards the boundaries and rules of that code (5.2.3).

I have argued that it is a *re-* rather than a *trans-* perspective that produces such detailed accounts of individual linguistic features, because it doesn’t allow us to jump to

conclusions about types of words or types of languaging based on surface-level identification that still implicitly builds on a conflation of linguistic features and languageS. Code-switching or translanguaging accounts, in which this conflation is not thoroughly dissolved, then remain undercomplex compared to the insights we can gain when spatially looking for relanguaging and taking the accomplishments of linguistic detail seriously (5.2.3). But what counts as *linguistic* detail was not always clear in this chapter.

Considering how important teachers feel that body languaging is in their English classrooms and the role it played in the test mediation (5.3.5), there is certainly a need to extend ideas like relanguaging to accommodate those resources that are conventionally not associated with language and linguistics at all – like gestures, body movements, bodies themselves, etc. I have argued here that conventional *linguistic* features might not be that different from such embodied resources, as the only thing that differentiates a morpheme like ‘u-’ from a body like Likho’s is the way in which it is recruited into the meaning making activity. So depending on how much we are willing to open the notion of ‘language’ and the discipline of linguistics up and to see heterogeneity as the norm, we could describe both, Likho’s body and ‘u-’, as *languaging resources* (5.3.5). It is, therefore, not only about disentangling the association of linguistic features with named languageS. We also need to ask what counts as a languaging resource, shedding light on a further entanglement that needs dissolving in order to adequately analyse (classroom) languaging – that of languaging with those resources that can be uttered or written and the outsourcing of resources that require other recruitment processes into different modalities. While it remains a side-note in this thesis, important work in this regard is currently done in studies that employ the concept of spatial repertoires, exploiting its full potential to account for interactional resources beyond but not separate from more traditionally linguistic ones (Baynham & Lee, 2019; Blackledge & Creese, 2017; Canagarajah, 2018; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015).

5.4.2 Relanguaging and (test) writing

In terms of relanguaging, the example of the Grade 4 reading activity (5.1.3) and then the close investigation of the instruction presented under 5.2 have shown that the mechanism is not only established in the Grade 5 classroom in focus in chapter 4, but

also in the Grade 4 classroom. By zooming into constructions like ‘Ndifuna imeaning yakhe,’ it became clear that relanguaging can also mean *sorting out* potential stumbling blocks before actualising linguistic possibilities (see also [4.5.6](#)). Asking what ‘yakhe’ can do that ‘it’ cannot do and following ‘it’ into another classroom scenario (where the Grade 5 teacher spelled it out to her learners) showed how sorting out ‘it’ or ‘its meaning’ and choosing instead ‘imeaning yakhe’ from the classroom repertoire avoids the potential referential and phonological ambiguity that comes with relying on ‘it’ in this space ([5.2.6](#)). Especially the referential confusion often caused by Standard English third person pronouns is a point that will be further substantiated in chapter 6 when I look at learners’ writing that often displays similar strategies of circumventing the use of these pronouns.

Using the example of (u)angry in the relanguaged instruction I have also argued that teachers use relanguaging to systematically prepare learners for writing. Through *sorting out* Khayelitshan resources (from ‘uangry’ to ‘Write ‘angry’’) and balancing the classroom repertoire towards homogeneity, the tone was set for learners to produce homogenised SWE in their workbooks ([5.2.6](#)). So when writing is aimed at in an activity then this influences how we have to interpret certain relanguaging moves and what they accomplish. Another layer of complexity is added when the aim of writing is part of a comparably high-stakes activity, like the testing scenario discussed in [5.3](#).

Here I have argued that the increased departmental pressure to comply with official expectations for linguistic homogeneity has the classroom repertoire often balanced towards homogeneity with the teacher only rarely including Khayelitshan resources in heterogenising moves. I have illustrated this scenario with a complexified relanguaging circle that includes:

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| ...the teacher’s orientation towards Khayelitshan learners via classroom languaging, | her attempt to accommodate statist demands for homogeneity and the needs of her learners simultaneously via accessible classroom englishing | and the linguistic expectations of state administrations and their agents as instantiated in the SWE in the test paper (5.3.2). |
|--|---|---|

Within this circle we have seen relanguaging unfold as a mechanisms that facilitates a test coaching practice. The teacher for example sorted out those parts of the story that were linguistically complicated and not immediately relevant to the test questions – making relanguaging much more selective than it was in chapter 4, where the goal was to make learners understand but not to make them pass a test. Via accessible classroom englishing the teacher also provided elaborate hints at the answers to the test questions, equipping her learners with the agency to respond in SWE ([5.3.6](#) & [5.3.7](#)). She rarely went full circle to include Khayelitsha resources in here mediation, keeping the classroom repertoire mostly balanced towards homogeneity. This way, I have argued, she set the tone and modelled the type of language use learners would need to produce SWE answers in the test.

The above are techniques with which the teacher increases the odds for her learners to master the test and get their certificates. Simultaneously she avoids having her own reputation put into (even more) jeopardy by keeping the number of learners who fail to a minimum. Thereby she reduces the likelihood of attracting negative departmental attention ([5.3.7](#)). Via complex processes of relanguaging she therefore keeps an eye on the children's future and another on her own career as an employee of the state in education.

5.4.3 Subverting the system to keep it working

All the English teachers at Khayelitsha Primary know that practices like heterogeneous classroom languaging and preparatory test-coaching are 'not allowed' (comp. [Interview Excerpt f](#), p.161) but they 'just change the rules themselves' (comp. [Interview Excerpt d](#), p.122). In the face of strong stigmatisation from all sides this is in fact an act of courage and initiative that subverts the rules of a system that teachers have in some ways identified as unfair. They are not convinced that sameness across contexts equals fairness in South African education and so they change the rules of the game to make teaching, learning and passing tests possible in Khayelitsha. However, their practices of local resistance against statist prescriptions of monolingualism and against ideas of how assessment is supposed to work – which became visible in the heterogeneous languaging resources at play in [5.2](#) and the test-coaching practice in [5.3](#) – are simultaneously also acts of compliance, because the only way to make learners meet the demands of the system is to subvert its rules. The formal curriculum and

assessment system survives only because of how Khayelitshan teachers locally reshape it with an eye on their learners' linguistic skills and struggles and another on the demands of state education.

Township teachers have relanguaging techniques their disposal that range from pedagogically productive (when they are oriented towards the linguistic skills and struggles of their learners) to politically defensive (when they are oriented towards satisfying the demands of state education) and cover everything in between. Because they do not expect any real understanding from departmental authorities for the circumstances under which they teach, they prefer to not take the risk of letting their learners fail. So while they are experts at facilitating learning under linguistically highly complicated conditions coproduced by an unfair system, they are also experts at continuously making this same system work. In Scott's words we can summarise South African education as a system imposing a formal order that is, like any such order,

always and to some considerable degree parasitic on informal processes, which the formal scheme does not recognise, without which it could not exist, and which it alone cannot create or maintain (Scott, 1998, p. 390).

It is the teachers' agency that keeps the formal scheme running. They have knowledge of official linguistic expectations as well as of their learners' skills and struggles and they juggle these two poles – often via relanguaging. Education officials and many linguists who 'see like a state' cannot see this juggling, because they either look at homogeneous languageS or heterogeneous languaging but not at both conjunctively. Therefore, they overlook how township teachers keep things together and make the system work. They can do that, because their vision is complementary – one eye on their learners and linguistic heterogeneity, another eye on state education and demands for linguistic homogeneity. In other words, township teachers have got one eye on Khayelitsha and one eye on the state.

What we can learn for (South African) education from township teachers and their complementary vision will be discussed in the conclusion. Before that, I turn away from teachers, who were the central languagers in my analyses so far. The next chapter puts Khayelitshan learners centre stage as they negotiate local linguistic complexities in a writing activity that gives them more freedom than usual.

6. Rewriting languageS

6.1 The idea for a writing task

6.1.1 *OK: Code-switching*

The analyses in this chapter differ from the foregoing ones, as I here no longer put teachers centre stage. Instead it is now the learners who come into focus; in a writing task which allowed them to describe a picture story drawing on the full ensemble of linguistic possibilities of the classroom, without conventional restrictions to languageS. Before I introduce the task I first share how this writing activity became part of my originally teacher-centred research. There was a certain lesson, recorded on the 30th of May 2016 in the Grade 5 teacher's English class, which gave me this idea, because it was different from all other lessons I had observed at the school.

On this day, the Grade 5 teacher walks into the classroom, greets the learners and instructs the whole class to stand up. She then says:

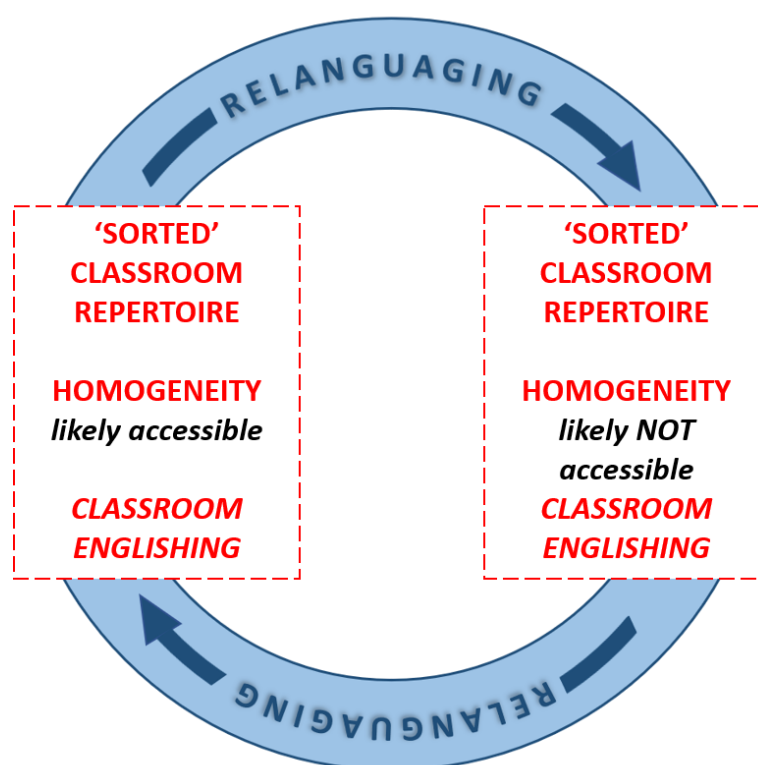
Today I want you to try by all means to answer in English only. No Xhosa today, just English. No code-switching today, just simply English. You are not given a chance to sit down, not unless you say something. Not unless you give me an answer. Then you'll be given an opportunity to sit down. But if you don't give me anything you will remain standing until the end of English period (Grade 5 English Lesson 30.05.2016).

This is the only lesson I observed at the school where a teacher explicitly announced a strict language policy for the whole lesson and even enforced it via physical means. The teacher disciplines the learners by giving Standard English with its linguistic features and grammatical rules immediate physical impact. Englished responses are rewarded with the comfort of sitting down, while taking different languaging routes is prohibited and silence is punished with the continuous discomfort of standing. Being amongst the last ones standing also puts learners into a shameful state, because their alleged inability to speak English-only is now instantiated physically and put on display via their upright bodies – there for everyone to see.

Throughout this unconventional lesson the teacher herself englishes without exception and does not enrol any of the Khayelitshan resources from the classroom repertoire. She therefore models what she expects from her learners in their oral responses as

well: English-only. The core activity in this lesson is once again the reading of a story but this time the learners just listen (whilst standing), without the text in front of them. Still, as usual, the teacher relanguages most parts of the story about a thirsty crow trying to get water out of a jug. Her relanguaging, however, exclusively produces classroom englishing as she confines herself to Standard English resources, (re)producing a homogeneous repertoire during this activity. As mentioned before, she is making what she expects of her learners (English-only) her own project as well. The relanguaging circle therefore looks like this in this lesson:

Circle XVI



After reading and relanguaging, she then encourages learners to contribute, sometimes by asking them to explain the meaning of a word she has read or with statements along the lines of: 'Tell me anything that you have heard in the story'; 'Summarise the story,' or 'Retell the story.' Learners are hesitant, but one after another, they english short contributions and are allowed to sit down. Towards the end of the lesson the teacher is left with seven learners who are still standing and whom she cannot get to utter even

one word, despite repeated encouragement. That is when – after 50 minutes of englishing – she says:

| Lesson Transcript O | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| T = Teacher | normal print = classroom languaging / englishing |
| L = Learner (individual) | <i>(italics)</i> = <i>(englishing added by the author)</i> |

- 1 **T:** Ok, code-switching. Khawusibalisele eli bali ngesiXhosa (*Please tell us this story*
- 2 *in Xhosa*). Odwa, ube namagama owafakayo weEnglish (*Odwa, ... with words*
- 3 *that you put in English*). Khawusibalisele ibali. Ngolwimi lwakho ke ngoku,
- 4 ngesiXhosa (*Please tell us the story. In your language now, in Xhosa*).
- 5 **L:** Intaka yayibhabha ... (*The bird was flying ...*)
- 6 **T:** Icrow.
- 7 **L:** Icrow.
- 8 **T:** Icrow yayibhabha kwifield (*The crow was flying in the field*). I want few English
- 9 words.
- 10 **L:** Icrow yayibhabha kwifields and she was seeing a jug down into ...
- 11 **T:** Mhlaba (*Earth/ground*).
- 12 **L:** Into mhlaba (*Into the earth/ground*).
- 13 **T:** Yes.
- 14 **L:** And she could not open the jug.
- 15 **T:** Good.

I will not give a detailed analysis of this sequence here but only summarise the points relevant for this chapter:

After her official announcement of a change in the language policy of the lesson (‘OK, code-switching’), in O2 the teacher first explains that by code-switching she means speaking ‘Xhosa’ but putting in some ‘English’ words. Then she repeats the instruction to retell or summarise the story from O3-O4 and says that the learner should ‘tell the story ‘in her language’, in ‘Xhosa’’, but what she means is not Standard Xhosa. When the learner she addressed begins to speak in O5, using resources that would also count as Standard Xhosa (‘Intaka yayibhabha ... ’), the teacher interrupts and relanguages her response by assembling vocabulary items from the story (‘crow’ and ‘fields’) into

classroom languaging that draws on familiar morphology but integrates the targeted words ‘crow’ and ‘field’. Assembled with Khayelitshan morphology they become: ‘icrow’ (O6) and ‘kwifield’ (O8). Her comment ‘I want few English words’ (O8-O9), that goes along with it then doesn’t only show that ‘Xhosa’ is not Standard Xhosa here, but that ‘icrow’ and ‘kwifields’ count as sufficiently big steps towards Standard English in this space. The forms count as englishing, we could say. They are assembled with watchfulness towards – even though not in complete keeping with – the boundaries of Standard English.

The learner repeats this sentence (O10) and continues with ‘and she was seeing a jug down into...’, having now sorted out all Khayelitshan resources from her englishing. She is then struggling a bit to express a locative prepositional phrase like: ‘down on the ground’. Beginning instead with ‘down into’, she doesn’t know how to go on. The teacher helps her to complete the sentence into an unusual assemblage of resources with the noun ‘mhlaba’ (*earth/ground*) (O11), which the learner repeats (O12). In O14 the learner then englishes all by herself – this time in complete keeping with the boundaries of Standard English – with: ‘And she could not open the jug.’ And since she has now succeeded in sorting things out (relinguaging), and was therefore able to produce Standard English, she is allowed to sit down.

This example shows how the very relaxation of the strict language policy, the ‘making-available’ of the full classroom repertoire, seems to have encouraged the learner to try and english. Resources that she actually did know how to assemble in compliance with Standard English (e.g. ‘And she could not open the jug’) remained hidden under a strictly enforced policy of monolingualism on this day in the classroom but became visible as soon as this policy was relaxed. When the learner was given a chance to relanguage in cooperation with the teacher – to *bring together* (‘icrow’, ‘kwifields’) and then to *sort out* the languaging resources she has access to – she was able to eventually produce the homogenised target repertoire of the lesson: Standard English.

So what does this introduction have to do with a chapter that claims to analyse learners’ writing practices? Writing activities at Khayelitsha Primary are governed by strictly policed monolingualism, as I will discuss further below. But what if this strictly enforced Standard English monolingualism in writing does the same that it did in the oral example above? What if it hides what learners could make of the linguistic

possibilities of the English classroom – also in terms of englishing – if they were given more freedom to openly engage in linguistic sorting processes? These are the questions that then prompted me to create a writing exercise where learners would be free to draw on the full classroom repertoire. I wanted to know what language practices would emerge in such an unrestricted writing space. More particularly, I was interested in the englishing competencies that might become visible in writing tasks that allow for linguistic heterogeneity. Because, as the opening example from the oral classroom activity has demonstrated, linguistic hetero- and homogeneity are not mutually exclusive and therefore the fact that learners are allowed to ‘code-switch’ does not mean that they will not also try to english. Therefore, there is the possibility of finding englishing in heterogeneous writing, we just haven’t been looking for it yet.

Before I can begin with the analyses it is important to consider what constitutes the ensemble of linguistic possibilities that characterises the Khayelitsha English classroom as a writing space.

6.1.2 A writing space at Khayelitsha Primary

As we have seen in chapter 4 and 5, orally teachers constantly engage in strategically homogenising and heterogenising the classroom repertoire through relanguaging – modelling not always englishing-only but often instantiating the push-and-pull between extending and limiting linguistic possibilities in their teaching. Learners, as shown in chapter 4, are also often allowed to draw on the full classroom repertoire in their contributions. The strictly enforced and modelled policy of monolingualism that characterised the above described lesson up to minute 50 is therefore the exception in oral classroom languaging in the English lessons I have observed at this school. Importantly, however, it is the unchallenged rule when it comes to writing.

If this rule of monolingualism is overstepped, contributions get marked as ‘wrong’, as this interview excerpt from a Grade 4 Xhosa and Geography teacher at the same school, quoted in Krause and Prinsloo (2016), underlines. He first talks about how he uses language fluidly in class to not lose learners along the way but then, about written tests, he says:

T: In Geography there must be, all the things must be in English.

R1: Mhm so when they answer in Xhosa you gonna mark it wrong?

T: Yes.

R1: So even the content, if it's correct?

T: It's correct but it's, it's wrong.

(Krause & Prinsloo, 2016, p. 353)

Throughout my research I have never heard teachers encourage learners to write anywhere beyond the confines of Standard English and I have also never seen them model such writing practices in the classroom.⁶¹ When it comes to writing, a practice central to the establishment and imperial endeavours of the nation state (Anderson, 1983; Errington, 2008) with its simplifying and categorising mechanisms and an emphasis on measurability (Scott, 1998), the logic of seeing like a state asserts itself more strongly in Khayelitshan classrooms than when activities are oral. We have seen some hints at that already in chapter 5, where, as soon as activities were aimed at writing, the classroom repertoire would be tilted towards homogeneity by the teachers more often, in order to prepare learners for producing SWE.

It is through writing that learners ultimately make their performance legible to educational authorities, and these authorities only accept languageS and not languaging. Different from oral classroom languaging, writing activities are therefore always tied to a standard language (Blommaert, 2013; Horner, Lu, Royster, & Trimbur, 2011), a formal “established code” (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 595) that, from Grade 4 onwards, in this school is Standard Written English (SWE). Therefore, only Standard English resources may be written, disentangled from other languaging resources offered by the classroom repertoire, and the *bringing together* and *sorting out* that goes into the production of this homogenised code is not allowed to become visible.

Even though some teachers are generally open to the idea of letting their learners write heterogeneously and were quite excited when I showed them some of the writing pieces I will discuss below, opening up linguistic possibilities outside Standard English for writing activities is still not something they do in their classrooms. For one, this is because ideologies of linguistic purity assert themselves more strongly with regard to written language, which is historically seen as “illustrative of the ‘essence’ of the

⁶¹ Teachers’ writing on social media platforms and messenger services is often highly heterogeneous but in the classroom space writing is either in SWX (Foundation Phase) or beyond that in SWE.

language” (Blommaert, 2008, p. 305) with its less fleeting and more ‘artefactual’ character compared to speech.

Secondly, connected to this more artefactual character of written language, we also have to consider that teachers’ oral heterogeneous classroom language practices are already subverting dominant monolingual ideologies (see for example [5.2.7](#)). But because of their oral nature these subversive practices can, at least to a certain extent, remain hidden behind classroom walls. Everyone knows they happen but there is no tangible proof, no resulting, visible artefacts. Letting learners write heterogeneously, however, would make such subversive practices visible, be it for parents, the principal or departmental subject advisors. As mentioned in [5.1.1](#), the latter do not only moderate tests but also check learners’ ordinary classroom workbooks. Finding heterogeneous writing across workbooks would show that teachers validate such practices in their teaching and for that – considering the dominant ideology of monolingualism in South African education – they would quite certainly be harshly criticised.

Scholars of translanguaging argue that “teachers can incorporate translanguaging strategies by opening up the spaces that will allow the recursive process of writing to interplay between the languages a student has” (Velasco & García, 2014, p. 21). For teachers at Khayelitsha Primary it is not that easy to open up such spaces without feeling like they are putting their own careers in jeopardy. Such political predicaments teachers find themselves in must be taken seriously when advocating for linguistic fluidity and heterogeneity in school writing practices.

From the above it follows that learners never practice heterogeneous writing at school and the routinised, formal practices that they bring into writing spaces are entangled with languageS. While linguistic fluidity is an option most of the time in oral activities, for writing the aspired code is always fixed. What makes the situation of Khayelitshan learners particular, however, is that due to the early-transition language policy model, the standard language they were oriented towards in their writing had until recently still been Standard Xhosa. So while from Grade 4 “all things must be in English” (Grade 4 Teacher quoted in Krause & Prinsloo, 2016, p. 353) in writing, from Grade 1-3 all things had to be in Standard Xhosa. This code excludes – as I have shown at different points throughout this thesis – many of the Khayelitshan resources that

learners are familiar with, too. A quote from a Foundation Phase teacher interviewed during my MA research illustrates this. She mentioned in interview that when teaching maths in the early grades she often realises that learners know certain words ‘in English’, for example numbers. I then asked if they would be allowed to write those numbers ‘in English’ during Xhosa mathematic lessons. She replied: “They have to write ‘inye’⁶² but when they talk they say ‘one’” (Interview Foundation Phase Teacher Khayelitsha Primary 2014).⁶³

So for the first three years of schooling the rule was not that all things had to be in ‘English’ or otherwise they were marked wrong, but that all things had to be in ‘Xhosa’, or otherwise would have been marked wrong. So the linguistic confinement in writing for these learners has changed from Standard Written Xhosa (SWX), one set of combinatory grammatical, syntactical and orthographic⁶⁴ rules tied to a delimited set of lexical and morphological features, to SWE as another such set with very different rules. It is important to emphasise these points about Khayelitshan learners’ particular schooling histories in terms of languageS in writing as a background for understanding the writing pieces that emerge in this context. Furthermore, if we take seriously the idea that people’s linguistic trajectories influence the spatial repertoires they draw on and contribute to, then this radical break from SWX to SWE must be expected to influence the ensemble of linguistic possibilities in the classroom space during writing activities.

During the foregoing analysis I have shown that Standard Xhosa is not a relevant ordering principle during oral classroom languaging as it is not policed or consistently approximated by teachers or learners (4.5.3). Therefore, the repertoires folded into one another during those oral activities were Standard English and the Khayelitshan repertoire, and teachers constantly ordered and sorted them via relanguaging. In these scenarios I argued that it doesn’t make sense to speak of the resources used as Standard Xhosa resources, because overall neither teachers nor learners are watchful towards the principles of that statist repertoire as such – much in contrast to Standard English,

⁶² ‘inye’ = Standard Xhosa for ‘one’.

⁶³ This quote is part of the unpublished data from my MA research project at Khayelitsha Primary. It was recently discussed in an article on ‘The Conversation’. [Click here to view the article](#), last accessed on 13.08.2019.

⁶⁴ There are many orthographic differences but also similarities between SWX and SWE, but discussing them in their entirety is not my interest here. Rather, I will discuss those that become relevant in the writing pieces I analyse in this chapter.

which is the very target of teaching in this case. Accordingly, I consistently spoke about Khayelitshan resources, even in those instances in which they also looked like Standard Xhosa ones.

When learners write, however, given their particular schooling history, they might well orient towards SWX – be it consistently or partially – because they had to adhere to the principles of this code throughout their first three years of schooling and learnt how to separate Khayelitshan languaging from SWX. Therefore, we have to consider that another statist repertoire is now folded into the classroom repertoire as a potential principle to orient towards: Standard Xhosa. Because a lot of Khayelitshan resources are also Standard Xhosa resources it is often impossible to clearly say whether learners are orienting towards the day-to-day Khayelitshan repertoire in their writing or towards Standard Xhosa. My default solution here will be to speak about resources outside of Standard English as Standard Xhosa ones. At relevant points, however, I will discuss the possibility that we are looking at what Canagarajah calls “a hybrid form of literacy activity combining oral and literate resources” (2015, p. 41), where learners put Khayelitshan resources into writing via codified orthographieS. Given the complexity of the spatial repertoire of this writing space, folding into each other potential Khayelitshan, Standard English and Standard Xhosa resources, as well as the orthographic norms associated with SWX and SWE, learners have to be sophisticated relanguagers. They have to be able to order and sort out this folded repertoire in multiple directions before actualising parts of it in their writing. Some of these directions will become clear throughout the analyses.

I will focus on writing pieces in which learners exploit the possibility of fluidity – meaning where they do not confine themselves to one of the languageS in their writing. These learners bring together – but also sort out again – resources that are normally kept separate in writing. They write heterogeneously (if our point of reference is their usually homogenised school writing practices). There are still few studies who look at such writing practices. Those that do normally use the term translingual writing or literacy (Canagarajah, 2013; de Los Ríos & Seltzer, 2017; Velasco & García, 2014), but I prefer to talk about *heterogeneous writing*, because the *trans-* prefix suggests a transcendence of languageS rather than their negotiation. I will show in the analyses that rules associated with languageS seem to play an important role in the learners’

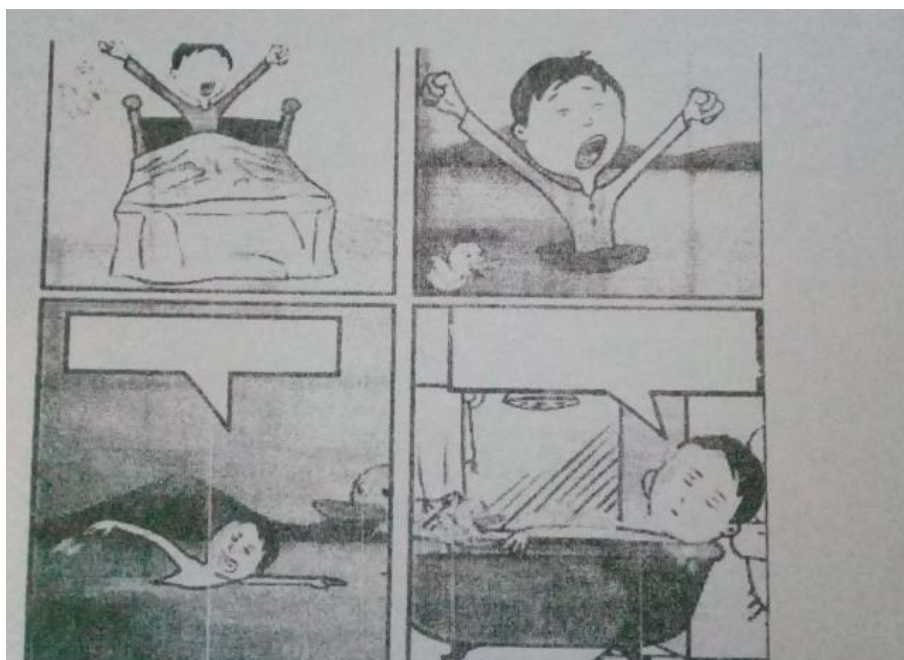
practices, so suggesting that they use *whichever* resources at their disposal and transcend languageS doesn't seem appropriate.

I am interested in the writing strategies that become visible if I zoom into the linguistic details of these pieces in the same manner I zoomed into the details of teachers' oral classroom languaging. I will also look at learners' writing as a potential source of inspiration for the sort of writing tasks that could be productive for advancing access to SWE in Khayelitsha. I assume that, like their teachers, learners have their own strategies to navigate the particular challenges of school writing and that, by making those strategies visible, teaching and testing could build more on learners' existing writing expertise.

Before I turn to the individual writing pieces, I below give some insight into the nature of the task and how I introduced it to the learners. This will also further illustrate what constitutes the linguistic possibilities of the classroom repertoire during this writing activity. Then I move into the analysis of some concrete examples.

6.1.3 A relanguaging researcher

Picture 4 - The Picture Story⁶⁵



⁶⁵ The picture story was given to me by a lecturer in the African Languages Section of the School of Languages and Literatures at the University of Cape Town. She can no longer trace the direct source but the story was freely available on the internet.

I decided to structure the writing task around a picture story, because teachers spoke about pictures as important elements in their teaching, which can significantly enhance student engagement in class. Also, seeing how much teachers have to mediate to make learners understand, engage with and write about Standard English texts (see chapter 4 & 5), such an option would have been impractical for my research. Pictures have another advantage of not – or at least not as directly as texts – putting words into learners’ mouths and are therefore better suited to my interest: Which languaging resources would they choose if the writing space were as unrestricted as possible?

This particular picture story seemed suitable because it is quite versatile. The picture content is accessible and can invite a fairly simple picture-by-picture description that mainly focuses on isolated actions of the boy. However, for more advanced learners it is also possible to connect the pictures into a more intricate story of dreaming about swimming in the sea while actually lying in a bath tub. According to my rationale, this story would therefore neither overwhelm Grade 4 learners, nor would it be too simple or boring for Grade 5 and 6.

I introduced the task by elaborating on the instruction above the picture story, which says:

Tell us what you see on these pictures. You can write in isiXhosa⁶⁶, English or Code-Switching.

I decided to work with conventional named languageS for pragmatic reasons and also to use ‘code-switching’ as the familiar term for learners at the school to refer to heterogeneous language practices. A shortcoming in the formulation of the instruction, that I became aware of whilst explaining the task in the first classroom, is that it leaves out a host of other languaging resources that learners might have access to – a few learners for example asked whether they can also use ‘Sotho’ or ‘Afrikaans’. I then added to my oral explanation: “Ningasebenzisa zonke iilwimi enizaziyo” (*You can use all the languages that you know*).

During my research I have learned a little bit from teachers about how to make sure that learners understand written task instructions (e.g. [5.2](#)). Accordingly I found myself

⁶⁶ At this point I was still using the prefix ‘isi-’ to refer to Xhosa but I decided to drop the prefix when englishing further along in my research.

relinguaging my very own instruction in a way that I deemed digestible for the learners. The result approximated to this:

Jongani kwipage yesibini, likhona ibali with iipictures eziyifour. There is a picture story there. Khanibhale le story. Kodwa ikhona into ebalulekileyo kakhulu: Xa nibhala, ningakhetha ulwimi. Ningabhala ngesiXhosa, ningabhala ngesiNgesi⁶⁷ okanye ningamixa iilwimi. Ningayenza icode-switching, ok? (Author Khayelitsha Primary September 2016)

Look at the second page, there is a story with four pictures. There is a picture story there. Please write this story. But there is an important thing: When you write, you can chose the language. You can write in Xhosa, you can write in English or you can mix the languages. You can do code-switching, ok?

I deemed this quite explicit mediation of my own task instruction necessary in this case, because firstly – as has become clear in the previous chapters – written instructions are often not easy to understand for learners. Secondly, as discussed above, writing in the English classroom is normally only validated when it exclusively features Standard English resources. Even though learners hear heterogeneous languaging all around them, also from authority figures like the teachers or the principal, they would normally not be allowed, let alone encouraged, to imitate such practices in their writing. I therefore wanted to make sure that they understood that the task at hand gave them more freedom.

It is important to mention that through this relanguaging of my instruction I also – similarly to the teachers in the foregoing chapters – set the tone for the writing activity. Only that, in my case, form and content of my explanation didn't homo- but heterogenise the classroom repertoire by entangling resources that are normally separated in writing. Even though on the level of content I outlined homogeneous *and* heterogeneous options for writing, the language resources that I chose modelled, and thereby emphasised, the heterogeneous option. Other than that, however, I did not explain any further what I meant by 'code-switching' in the instruction and that was not necessary, because learners are familiar with the notion.

After this relanguaging interlude I handed out the picture story and waited until all learners had finished the task – this took about 20 minutes in each of the three classrooms (Grade 4, 5 and 6). Overall, I collected 101 descriptions of picture stories

⁶⁷ My relanguaged language is not as heterogeneous as that of the teachers. I am quite strongly oriented towards Standard Xhosa as for example my use of 'ngesiNgesi' betrays – Khayelitshan languagers would mostly say 'ngeEnglish'.

this way. In each classroom where I explained the task there were a couple of learners who were particularly excited about the code-switching option, exclaiming “Yes!” or whispering excitedly with their neighbours when I announced it.

These excited reactions are reflected in the fact that across all 101 learners who participated in the task, 44 (44%)⁶⁸ produced heterogeneous writing pieces. This in itself is remarkable if we consider for example a study on translingual writing in two US secondary school classrooms by de Los Ríos and Seltzer. The authors note that, despite teachers’ encouragement to use all resources at their disposal, “students’ translanguaging did not appear in abundance in either classroom” (2017, p. 71), as they mostly chose SWE. In my study at Khayelitsha Primary, however, without any previous practice, heterogeneous writing did indeed appear in abundance. I argue that this is for one because heterogeneity is these learners’ day-to-day oral reality and they are excited to be able to draw on it in their writing. This, however, would also be true for many Spanish-English bilinguals in the US study. Another point that I think is important is that in secondary school classrooms in the US learners mostly have mastered SWE to a point where they can express what they want to say and are not completely silenced. Also, they are aware of statist expectations of monolingualism and translanguaging is then a much more politicised and subversive practice, not a game full of experimentation. At Khayelitsha Primary, the much younger learners probably feel the power of statist prescriptions regarding language but are less aware of it. The writing space I could create as a researcher – not worried about putting my career in jeopardy – could therefore become a space of experimentation and play. While still within the normative space of the school, reminding learners of the rules of the formal writing game and possibly motivating them to show the formal language rules they already know, this space is nevertheless outside of punitive measures for ‘impure’ language use. Therefore, learners had the opportunity to play with the resources they can access while showing their (re)linguaging and their englishing skills. We can now look at how the learners handled and shaped this experimental space.

⁶⁸ The exact percentage points are 43,6%, because the total number of learners is 101, not 100. For ease of reference I will round up all percentage numbers to the next full point throughout.

It is insightful to look at the numbers of heterogeneous, SWE and SWX writing pieces in total and broken down per grade:

Table 1

| Grade | Heterogeneous | SWX | SWE |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|------------|------------|
| total (101 learners) | 44 (44%) | 30 (30%) | 27 (27%) |
| 4 (28 learners) | 7 (25%)* | 12 (43%) | 9 (32%) |
| 5 (34 learners) | 19 (56%) | 9 (27%) | 6 (18%) |
| 6 (39 learners) | 18 (47%) | 9 (24%) | 12 (31%) |

* percentage of the number of learners per grade, not of the total

While this sample is certainly too small to be statistically significant, some interesting tendencies can be identified that might inspire further research. Looking for example at the number of learners who write within the confines of SWX at the different grade levels, we see a significant number in Grade 4 (43%) which in Grade 5 has dropped to 27% and then to 24% in Grade 6. These numbers seem indicative of the particular schooling histories of the learners described above, because the further they move away from Grade 3, the less likely they become to restrict themselves to SWX when having the full classroom repertoire at their disposal. This seems to connect to the fact that SWX doesn't play a big role anymore in learners' writing practices at school from Grade 4 onwards, except for in Xhosa as a subject lesson.

The numbers for learners who choose to orient exclusively towards SWE in their writing do not show such a clear trajectory across grades and cannot be explained solely by reference to the schooling spaces learners have traversed so far. One might for example ask whether those learners who already orient towards SWE in Grade 4 might have access to the respective literacy practices in their homes, which would explain a certain familiarity with the relevant resources.

The numbers of learners who write heterogeneously, not restricting themselves to one of the languageS throughout their description of the picture story, more than doubles from 25% in Grade 4 to 56% in Grade 5 and remains high in Grade 6 with 47%. Learners apparently find some merit in actualising possibilities from the classroom repertoire in less restricted ways and, as hinted at earlier, did not need any form of explicit teaching to do so.

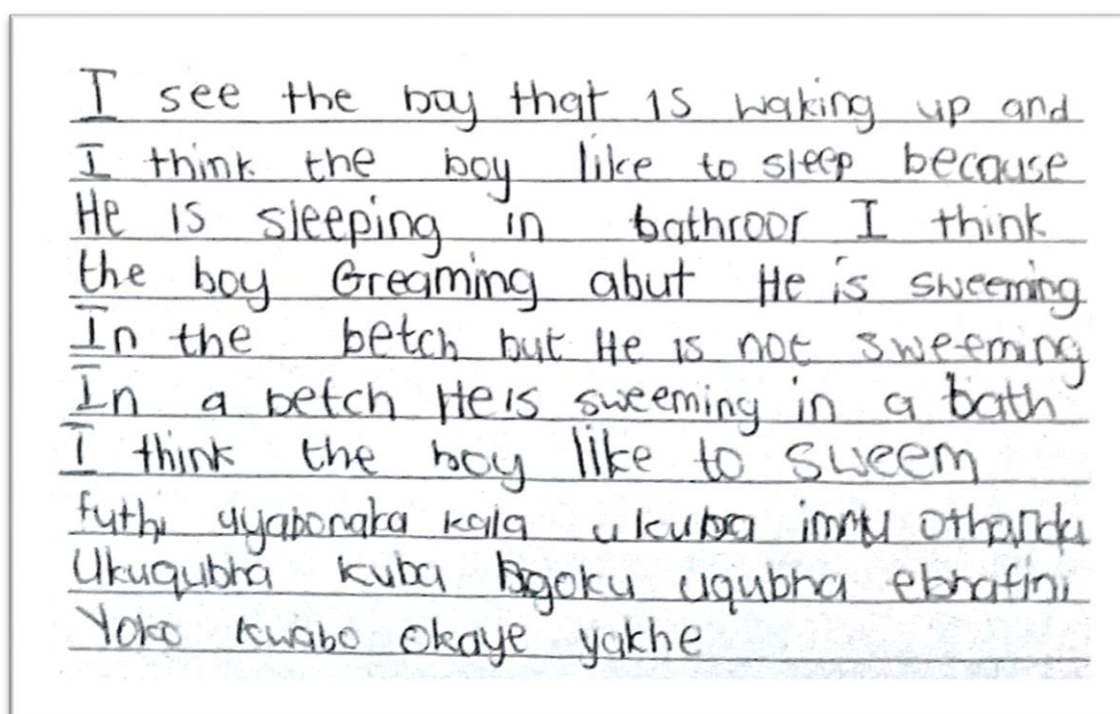
The first writing piece I analyse stood out to me, because it reminded me of the relanguaging between SWE teaching material and oral classroom languaging that I have described when looking at teachers' practices. This learner first tries to approximate SWE in her description of the pictures and then rewrites parts of the description via SWX. While my relanguaging perspective primarily drew me to this piece, the detailed analysis uncovers further interesting linguistic aspects that I then trace through other writing pieces and sometimes back to the teacher interviews. This line of investigation determines the structure of this chapter.

6.2 Seeing writing differently: From deficit to potential

6.2.1 Emergent englishing

The following description of the picture story was produced by a learner in Grade 5.

Example A - Greaming abut sweeming in a betch



For ease of reference I below type out the writing piece with line numbers:

- 1 I see the boy that is waking up and
- 2 I think the boy like to sleep because
- 3 he is sleeping in bathroor I think

- 4 the boy Greaming abut He is sweeming
 5 In the betch but He is not sweeming
 6 In a betch He is sweeming in a bath
 7 I think the boy like to sweem
 8 futhi uyabonaka kala ukuba imntu othanda
 9 Ukuqubha kuba ngoku uqubha ebhafini
 10 yoko kwabo okaye yakhe

In the first 7 lines of this piece the learner is oriented towards SWE and then rewrites part of her own description via SWX. Before I turn to how and why she might do that, I first want to draw attention to how, despite the fact that she has other, more familiar options at hand, from A1-A7 the learner orients exclusively towards SWE. Looking at this part of her writing, it is easy to identify points where she doesn't comply with SWE conventions:

- absent punctuation
- unconventional grammar and syntax
- unorthodox spelling
- what Blommaert et al. refer to as “erratic use of capitals” (Blommaert et al., 2005, p. 386)

However, if we systematically ‘see’ differently, then there are also competencies to be shown here. For example in A1 the learner approximates the rules for relative clause formation in ‘I see the boy that is waking up.’ She is arguably making an unconventional choice with the relative pronoun ‘that’, but nevertheless she displays an understanding of which type of linguistic features she needs to look for in the classroom repertoire in order to assemble such a relative clause.

The same sentence also shows that she knows how to build the present continuous tense with ‘-ing’ and therefore has access to a grammatical affordance that is very useful for describing pictures where actions are seen as currently going on. She uses this affordance throughout the text with ‘sleeping’, ‘Greaming’ and ‘sweeming’, showing knowledge of how to assemble this tense across different verbs by adding ‘-ing’ to the root. The ‘waking up’ example shows that she also knows how to use the

present continuous within a phrasal verb – verb forms that can cause some confusion when learning to English (Matlock & Heredia, 2002), as discussed in [4.5.1](#). I have observed the assembling of the continuous tense being extensively practiced in Grade 4 and it is an affordance that learners across grades draw on a lot in their writing. In parts, therefore, learners' ability to assemble '-ing' with various verbs (that will be illustrated with other examples throughout this chapter) may be traced back to the successful teaching of this tense in English classrooms.

We are not bound to read lack and deficit from this example but we can also see potential: An emergent skill on the part of the learner to navigate the syntactic and grammatical landscape of SWE – emergent englishing one might call it. The emphasis on potential rather than lack, and on the presence rather than the absence of resources, sets the tone for the analyses in this chapter. In the next section I focus on the resources present in the last lines of her description ([A8-A10](#)) and how they relate to the rest.

6.2.2 Learning rewriting from learners

In terms of content the learner gives quite a layered description of the picture story and also presents her own thoughts about the boy enjoying to sleep and to swim. She describes that the boy is sleeping in the bathroom and dreaming about swimming on the beach. From A5-A7 she explains that the boy is not swimming on the beach but in a bath (tub) and posits that he likes to swim, as we can see in A6-A7 where she writes:

He is sweeming in a bath I think the boy like to sweem.

She then continues from A8 to A10 with:

futhi uyabonaka kala ukuba imntu othanda Ukuqubha kuba ngoku uqubha ebhafini yoko kwabo okaye yakhe (*And he looks like someone who likes to swim, because now he is swimming in the bath tub at his parents' house or in his bath tub*).

In terms of content we see a significant overlap between her SWE ([A6-A7](#)) and her SWX approximation ([A8-A10](#)). Both parts express the observation that the boy is swimming in a bath (tub) and that he likes to swim. In the second version, however, she adds some information that is absent from the first one, as I will describe in more detail below. This learner appears to rewrite her own writing by essentially repeating the content of A6-A7 but with other resources that allow her to express certain things

differently and to add some more detail. Wolfersberger (2003) describes a similar practice as “back-translating”, which he observes in Japanese-English writing in a study on L1 to L2 strategy transfer in writing. Here, a student negotiates the tension between a complex idea she wants to express and what she can reasonably bring across via SWE. Therefore, even though in this study only one learner rewrites in this way, it might well be a more common strategy for such negotiations – something that large scale studies of heterogeneous writing would have to confirm.

One useful resource the learner in Example A draws upon in her rewritten version is ‘uyabonakala ukuba’⁶⁹ (*he looks as if*). While in A7 she simply writes: ‘I think the boy like to sweem,’ with ‘-bonakala’ she uses more analytical language that explains to the reader how she gets to this conclusion – she can therefore share to some extent her analysis of the pictures.

The learner goes on to write ‘imntu’⁷⁰ othanda ukuqubha,’ a main clause plus a relative clause that are morphologically made up like this:

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|------|--------|------|---------|----|-------|--------|----|
| i- | [ngu] | -m- | -ntu | o- | -thand- | -a | uku- | -qubh- | -a |
| SM9 | COP1 | NPx1 | person | REL1 | like | FV | INFIN | swim | FV |

(*it is someone who likes to swim*)

Familiar morphology here allows this learner to connect elements that she previously presented in disconnected short sentences (‘He is sweeming in a bath,’ and ‘I think the boy like to sweem’). With the SM9 she tracks reference to ‘the boy’, who, in SWX would be referred to as ‘inkwenkwe’ in class 9. So it is clear that the person she here describes as someone who likes to swim is ‘the boy’ she wrote about earlier. The REL1 ‘o’ is then a class-specific relative pronoun with a clear referent: ‘umntu’ (class 1), allowing her to clearly connect the description of liking to swim back to ‘the someone’, the boy.

Relative clauses are an affordance to connect people, activities and events and allow for more complex meaning-making than adjacent main clauses. I mentioned above that the learner already approximates a SWE relative clause in A1: ‘I see the boy that is

⁶⁹ The learner writes this as ‘uyabonaka kala ukuba’ in A8 while the standard form would be ‘uyabonakala’.

⁷⁰ The Standard Xhosa version of ‘imntu’ is ‘ingumntu’.

waking up.’ Her unconventional choice of the relative pronoun ‘that’ instead of the rule-conforming ‘who’ (or the leaving out of a relative pronoun altogether in this case to produce the participial ‘I see the boy waking up,’) suggests that she might not yet be oriented well enough within SWE to assemble relative or participial constructions confidently throughout. I argue that familiar patterns of noun class agreement for reference tracking here help her to make these complex connections. Instead of presenting ideas in a disconnected way (like in [A6-A7](#)), she can now draw them together in a phrase that approximates: ‘He looks as if he is someone who likes to swim,’ in SWE.

The learner then goes on to write:

kuba ngoku uqubha ebhafini yoko kwabo okaye⁷¹ yakhe (*because now he is swimming in the bath tub at his parents’ home or in his [bath tub]*).

When orienting towards SWE she does not specify the location or the owner of the bath tub, but turning towards SWX she integrates this specification with ‘yoko kwabo’⁷² and ‘yakhe’. My bracketed version of the sentence already shows that, to express the same complex meaning via SWE, the learner would need to know how apostrophes are used to express possession on nouns in the plural form (parents’). She would also have to use the gendered possessive pronoun ‘his’ to track reference back to the boy, making clear that he is the owner of the bath tub. Such reference tracking via Standard English gendered personal and possessive pronouns is, however, often confusing for Khayelitshan learners. I have noticed this, because teachers across classrooms repeatedly remind them of the usage of ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘it’, ‘his’, ‘her’ and ‘its’ respectively. I will discuss this in more detail in [6.2.4](#). At this point suffice it to say that while this learner in her writing does use the pronoun ‘he’, she doesn’t use the corresponding possessive pronoun ‘his’. But she does build reference tracking devices (‘yoko kwabo’ and ‘yakhe’) into her rewritten version from A8-A10. My explanation is that reference tracking in and across clauses is a grammatical ordering principle that, at this point, she still struggles to implement via Standard English resources alone. Therefore, she enrolls from the classroom repertoire devices that instantiate the familiar

⁷¹ The SWX spelling of ‘okaye’ is ‘okanye’.

⁷² The SWX orthography for ‘yoko kwabo’ is ‘yakokwabo’.

noun class agreement system. I will return to the topic of reference tracking in writing also in [6.2.4](#).

Overall, with regard to Example A it stands out that this learner doesn't rewrite the earlier part of her description but only the part from A6-A7 ('He is sweeming in a bath I think the boy like to sweem'). I suggest that the last part of her writing is not up to her own standards regarding what she wants to express here (see also Wolfersberger, 2003). She therefore exploits the opportunity to draw upon the full classroom repertoire to write it again differently, bringing the intended message across more reliably and in more detail. She thereby demonstrates to potential readers that her analytical insights into the picture story do at some points exceed what she feels confident expressing within the confines of SWE.

This piece is one example of what the product of a writing task that allows for heterogeneity could look like. A quite useful product for purposes of English teaching, I would argue. It provides information about elements of SWE that this learner already masters, but at the same time the rewritten version of her last lines reveals the complexity of meaning she would like to express and the resources she would need in order to do this via SWE. For example, to express the same complexity she would need to know how apostrophes work in SWE possessive constructions like 'at his parents' home' or she would need access to some useful analytical phrases like 'he looks as if'. Finding out what learners would like to write if they could, can feed into decisions about which SWE resources are immediately relevant to them.

As mentioned earlier, Example A is the only writing piece where I found such rewriting in this form, but the point is that this writing technique might have potential for the English classroom. Therefore, we can learn from learners and take a piece like this as a model from which to abstract task instructions that make all learners practice such rewriting. An option would be to develop an instruction along the lines of:

Describe the pictures in English as well as you can. Then rewrite your description using whichever language resources you want.

I will further discuss such opportunities for heterogeneous writing tasks and their potential in the English classroom in the conclusion. For now I want to draw attention to more interesting aspects from Example A, which relate to spelling and orthography and that will lead me into the discussion of other writing pieces as well.

6.2.3 *Lack or oversupply of standard linguistic norms?*

Throughout Example A we see the learner grappling with different orthographic realisations of the long vowel [i:] and its short version [ɪ] in SWE. To understand this phenomenon, we need to situate the following analysis firmly within the context of Khayelitshan English classrooms. For that purpose, I return to the Grade 5 teacher with a quote of hers I already discussed in 5.2.6. During one of her lessons (on the 18th of May 2016) she spelled out the pronoun ‘it’ for learners and I asked her why she did so. She said:

Because sometimes they do confuse the spelling. We have eat [pronounces [ɪt] instead of standard IPA [i:t]] that means ‘to eat’ and the *it* [also pronounces [ɪt]] that means some, ‘a thing’, ‘something’. So sometimes I do have to spell it out to them (Interview Grade 5 Teacher).

When she explains this, the teacher herself pronounces ‘it’ and ‘eat’ as it – making the words homophones. In classroom englishing such differences in vowel length present in Standard English pronunciation often do not feature. This has been analysed in research on Black South African English (BISAfE) that shows that vowel length distinctions are absent from this way of englishing (Mesthrie, 2005). Thus, learners in schooling spaces with pronunciation patterns approximating more closely to the standard receive a phonetic orientation as to when spelling norms require for example a digraph (e.g. ‘ea’) to represent [i:] or when they have to use the single vowel ‘i’ to represent [ɪ]. Most learners in Khayelitsha are completely lacking this phonetic clue, because it doesn’t feature in the local classroom englishing they hear.

Importantly, also in Khayelitshan languaging and in Standard Xhosa, like in many other Bantu languageS, there is no distinction between long and short vowels (Mesthrie, 2005, p. 147). Accordingly, because vowel length is not phonemic, there is also only one orthographic representation of [i:] and [ɪ] in SWX: the letter ‘i’. It cannot be over-emphasised in this context that Khayelitshan learners spent their first three years of primary school learning to write according to this orthography. Looking at how they spell when trying to approximate SWE, we should therefore keep these local particularities in mind.

Below I reinvoke the englished passage from this learner’s writing piece, which will be the focus of the following excursion into spelling.

| |
|---|
| Repetition Example A (lines 1-7) |
|---|

- 1 I see the boy that is waking up and
- 2 I think the boy like to sleep because
- 3 he is sleeping in bathroor I think
- 4 the boy Greaming abut He is sweeming
- 5 In the betch but He is not sweeming
- 6 In a betch He is sweeming in a bath
- 7 I think the boy like to sweem

We see the learner realising the [i:] in ‘see’, ‘sleep’ and ‘sleeping’ in accordance with SWE orthography with the digraph ‘ee’. She also uses ‘ee’ to represent the [ɪ], producing ‘sweeming’ (A4 & A5). But ‘ee’ is not the only digraph that she has access to, as her use of ‘ea’ in ‘Greaming’ (A4) shows. The examples of ‘betch’ and ‘he’ (A5 & A6) point to a negotiation of ‘e’ as another possible representation of [i:] that in SWE is accepted in ‘he’ but not in ‘betch’, where orthography prescribes the digraph ‘ea’. While the learner knows that ‘ea’ plays some role in SWE (‘Greaming’), she is not yet sure *where exactly* she has to use it. In words like ‘think’, ‘is’ and ‘in’ she confidently represents [ɪ] as ‘i’, which might relate to the fact that these are high frequency words that would be practiced a lot in writing.

When it comes to orthographic rules, the learner’s writing therefore displays an awareness of different possible representations of [i:] and [ɪ] (which to her probably sound the same in speech) in SWE orthography, such as ‘ee’, ‘ea’, ‘e’ and ‘i’. Note that in SWX orthography digraphs exist only as combinations of the same letter (e.g. ‘ee’, ‘ii’, ‘oo’) but not as made up of two different letters (like ‘ea’). So while the learner still displays insecurity with regard to where which realisation is called for, she nevertheless shows that she is familiar with some of SWE’s orthographic resources for vowel realisation and has been confronted, for example, with different digraphs such as ‘ea’. Therefore, she is not simply spelling according to pronunciation – phonetically – or transferring SWX orthography to SWE. Instead, she sorted out the classroom repertoire in watchfulness towards the boundaries of SWE but within that statist

repertoire she is still busy *sorting out* different ways to represent vowels, all of which would be written as ‘i’ in SWX. In other words, what we see here is not a learner who is clueless about orthographic norms but one who is already englishing – actualising resources from the classroom repertoire while being watchful towards the boundaries and rules of Standard English – whilst trying to get her bearings with regard to which vowel representation belongs where in SWE.

It is further telling that in her rewritten section at the end the learner then doesn’t use any of these digraphs that are characteristic for SWE to represent the [i:] and [ɪ] but adheres to the rules of SWX orthography to represent the phoneme. This shows that she has a clear idea of when she is writing ‘in English’ and when she is writing ‘in Xhosa’ and that different orthographic conventions apply to these languageS. She is able to relanguage the heterogeneous classroom repertoire, sorting it out in accordance with the statist view with an orientation towards these two standard codes and their associated orthographieS.

Exploring the spelling of [i:] and [ɪ] in other writing pieces reveals similar negotiations of vowel representation to those in Example A. A Grade 6 learner for example writes:

It peak up igalo⁷³ zayo and now is going to a beej
(*It picks up its (his) arms and now is going to a beach*).

‘It’ here refers to the boy – again an illustration of how reference tracking via Standard English pronouns is often confusing for Khayelitshan learners (further discussed in [6.2.4](#)). Regarding the representation of [i:], the learner’s spelling of ‘peak’ (*pick*) and ‘beej’ (*beach*) shows that, while for her there is no difference between [i:] and [ɪ] (like for the learner in Example A), she nevertheless knows that different digraphs can be used to represent [i:] and [ɪ] in SWE and juggles them in her writing.

A third example comes from another Grade 6 learner, who writes:

Kwifoto yesi thathu⁷⁴ I si the boy is swimming. In photo four I see the boy that is sleeping.

First, the learner realises the two [i:] / [ɪ] sounds in ‘kwifoto yesi thathu’ (*in the third picture*) with ‘i’, in accordance with SWX orthography. Then, in her realisation of ‘I

⁷³ Standard Xhosa orthography prescribes ‘iingalo’ (*arms*).

⁷⁴ Standard Xhosa orthography prescribes ‘yesithathu’ to be written in one word.

see' (SWE) as 'I si' she seems to apply the same orthographic rule, using 'i' to represent [i:] and therefore representing a Standard English resource ('see') via SWX orthography ('si'). But as she continues to write she glides into SWE orthography, illustrated by 'I see' and 'sleeping' in the next sentence. This example shows most clearly how learners in Khayelitsha acquire not only one but two different sets of orthographic principles in their early schooling. Here then we can observe a learner in the immediate process of relanguaging the classroom repertoire by *sorting out* these principles according to an emerging idea of what spelling is asked for in which of the languageS and their associated orthographieS:

kwifoto yesibini ➡ I si ➡ I see

Relanguaging as a linguistic sorting practice can only become so clearly visible here, because heterogeneous writing is allowed in the first place and resources like 'kwifoto yesithathu' and 'I see' can therefore occur adjacently in the same writing piece.

This emphasis on sorting processes produces an account of learners' spelling in township schools that is radically different to that which Blommaert et al. put forward in their rather influential study on literacy practices in a different Cape Town township school (discussed in [1.6](#)). They describe the writing of learners there as hetero-graphic literacy practices that "do not respond to institutional ortho-graphic norms" (2005, p. 388). Learners, and also teachers, are described as cut off from such institutional norms, producing and reproducing their own peripheral normativity. While locally functional, these peripheral norms keep them from learning to approximate the standard language and literacy practices valued beyond the township (Blommaert et al., 2005).

In response to this I argue that the example of [i:] and [ɪ] has shown how, in their spelling, Khayelitshan learners are in fact responding not only to one, but to two sets of institutional orthographic norms that are folded into each other in the Khayelitshan classroom as a writing space. Now they are in the process of learning how to sort them out, i.e. how to relanguage complex spatial repertoires according to what is expected of them. They already know how to see language like a state, since they recognise the basic categories that structure the statist vision: separate languageS. It is now about sorting the resources accordingly and about learning what goes where in this game of xhosing, englishing and Khayelitshan languaging. While learners certainly still need

to get their bearings better, the analyses of these writing pieces show that they are already busy sorting things out. I argue that the challenges Khayelitshan learners face in their spelling are not the result of a lack of accessibility and orientation towards institutional orthographic norms but rather that of an oversupply of such norms – some associated with SWX and others with SWE. Learners are here not stuck in peripheral normativity but, local complexities considered, are engaged in a very challenging task. What these writing pieces display is an awareness of multiple Standard English spellings of [i:] and [ɪ], even if conventions about which belongs where are still unclear. These findings add empirical evidence to what Canagarajah has argued in response to Blommaert et al., namely that “it is possible then for the local community to be not unaware of (and even not incompetent in) the indexical orders and literacy regimes of other places” (2015, pp. 35–36)(2015, pp. 35–36). Seeing these competencies in their nuanced detail, I would add, requires close linguistic analyses of languaging (or writing) as a spatial practice that is framed by a careful conceptualisation of the constitution of the linguistic space that is in focus.

The point about standard linguistic norms in oversupply at Khayelitsha Primary will come up again later. I will now turn to another topic that has transpired in the analysis of different writing pieces and that I discussed also with regard to teachers’ oral language practices: reference tracking via Standard English pronouns in learners’ writing.

6.2.4 Learners sorting out Standard English pronouns

I have remarked at different points in the analyses above that reference tracking exclusively via gendered Standard English pronouns seems to pose problems for learners in their writing. They often make unconventional choices, for example in the sentence: ‘He enjoy her day.’ Teachers are aware of gendered pronouns being a source of confusion. They regularly elaborate on, and remind learners of, their appropriate usage in class. Here is an example from the Grade 4 classroom:

When we talk about a girl, we use ipronoun enguher, if it is a boy: uhis⁷⁵ (*When we talk about a girl we use the pronoun that is ‘her’, if it is a boy, ‘his’*) (Grade 4 English Lesson 08.02.2016).

⁷⁵ The ‘u-’ in ‘uhis’ is the same ‘u-’ from class 1a that I discussed with the example of ‘uangry’ in 5.2. The construction ‘enguher’ before that also includes the ‘u-’ in a relative construction: e (REL9) + ng (COP1a) + u (NPx1a) + her (*that is ‘her’*).

With reference to this specific example I later asked the teacher in interview why she thinks that learners need to be reminded frequently about the gender difference between these Standard English pronouns. She draws a comparison between Standard English and Standard Xhosa to explain why they might struggle:

In English if I say ‘a boy’ I will say ‘he’. In English. But in Xhosa we’ll say ‘yena’. In Xhosa. At the same time, if I say in English ‘a girl’: ‘she’. In Xhosa I’ll say ‘yena’. In Xhosa it’s the same but in English you differentiate it: u-he-and-she⁷⁶ (Interview Grade 4 Teacher).

The teacher here provides a metalinguistic explanation of why reference tracking in Standard English is hard for learners, because it is based on gender distinctions. She uses the absolute pronoun ‘yena’ (class 1a / 1 and 3rd person singular) to illustrate that, in their day-to-day language practices, learners can refer to boys and girls with the same pronoun and therefore might get confused by having to choose between different gendered options.

The Grade 5 teacher makes similar remarks about struggles with pronouns in her teaching, prompting us to solicit her opinion on these little words in interview as well:

T: In African language we have no pronouns. Umama u-. You will say the same thing when you speak of a male: Utata u-. Or instead of saying ‘she’, [you say] ‘u-’. Instead of saying ‘he’ [you say] ‘u-’. We don’t have pronouns.

R1: Mhm so they get confused?

T: Yes. You have to stress it: When I speak of a female person I use ‘she’, the pronoun, the correct pronoun to use is ‘she’. The male person we use ‘he’ (Interview Grade 5 Teacher).

The teachers’ comments show how their interventions in class are based on an understanding of their learners’ struggles with pronoun choice – an often underestimated advantage of the fact that learners and teachers in Khayelitsha share a similar language background. For both teachers it is clear that learners’ struggles result from the fact that gender is an ordering principle for nouns and their pronouns in Standard English, whereas in Khayelitsha and in Standard Xhosa (as well as in many Bantu languageS) females and males are referred to with the same pronoun (Beck, 2003). Third person gendered pronouns in Standard English are therefore indeed rather confusing for learners.

⁷⁶ Again, the ‘u-’ in ‘u-he-and-she’ is the class 1a noun class prefix used as a metalanguaging device to talk *about* ‘he and she’ as one linguistic chunk while englishing.

A connection to establish between the learners' writing and teachers' oral classroom languaging is that, while teachers often remind their learners explicitly about how to use Standard English pronouns, in their actual classroom language practices they often seem to avoid them themselves or relanguage them into Khayelitshan morphology. While this is an efficient resource to make Standard English teaching material accessible for learners, as I demonstrated for example in [4.3.6](#) and [5.2.6](#), it also means that in classroom talk learners get less exposure to the referential order of Standard English.

When it comes to learners' writing, across all pieces examples similar to 'He enjoy her day' (Grade 6) are plentiful. In addition, another group of writing pieces displays a general avoidance of third person gendered pronouns rather than their conflation. Learners would for example constantly repeat the head noun, producing much redundancy in their texts. This redundancy, however, might indicate problem-conscious learners, who have already understood that there is something complicated about choosing the appropriate reference tracker in Standard English.

The observation I want to focus on here is that in this writing task where heterogeneous language use is allowed, quite a few learners use the opportunity to draw on the full classroom repertoire for rather punctual interventions in sentences that otherwise seem to display an orientation to SWE. This often occurs exactly where SWE would require them to use a gendered personal or possessive pronoun for reference tracking. We recall this earlier example from a Grade 6 learner:

It peak up igalo⁷⁷ zayo and now is going to a beej (*It picks up its (his) arms and now is going to a beach*).

Firstly, 'it' is used here instead of 'he', showing an insecurity in choosing the conventional gendered pronoun to refer to 'the boy'. Then the learner uses 'i[in]galo zayo', morphologically made up like this:

⁷⁷ SWX orthography prescribes 'iingalo' (*arms*).

| | | | | |
|--------|-------|--------|------|------------|
| i[in]- | -galo | za- | -yo | |
| NPx10 | arm | POSS10 | REL9 | (his arms) |

While the POSS10 connects the possessive construction to ‘i[in]galo’ (class 10), the REL9 refers back to ‘the boy’, often associated with class 9 (inkwenkwe / iboy). By stepping out of the confines of Standard English and actualising the possibilities of an extensive noun class agreement system, she avoids a decision about which possessive pronoun – ‘its’, ‘his’ or ‘her’ – is in order here.

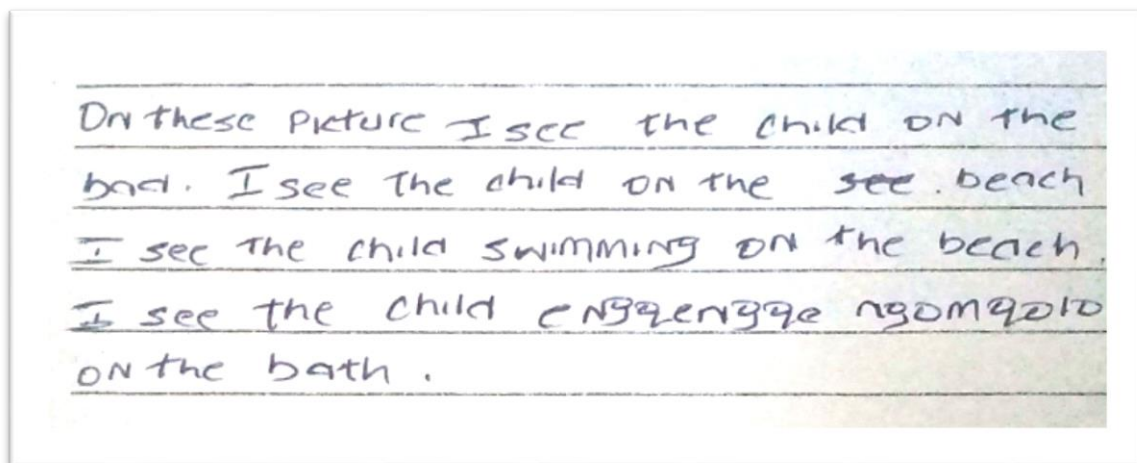
Similarly, a Grade 5 learner seems to elegantly circumvent the pronoun ‘he’ when writing:

I see a little boy and uvuka⁷⁸ at the bad.

She uses the subject marker ‘u-’⁷⁹ to refer back to the boy with the construction ‘uvuka’ where Standard English would prescribe ‘he wakes up’.

In the same vein, the following example from a Grade 6 learner is interesting:

Example B - I see the child engqengqe ngomqolo



Sensitised to the issue around reference tracking via Standard English gendered pronouns it now stands out that this learner, who restricts herself to SWE throughout

⁷⁸ ‘uvuka’ consists here of the subject marker ‘u-’ for class 1/class 1a plus the verb –vuka (wake up). Englished: he wakes up.

⁷⁹ This is not the same ‘u-’ as in ‘uangry’, where it was the noun class prefix for class 1a (NPx1a). In this case in front of a verb (-vuka), the ‘u-’ is part of the noun class agreement morphology from class 1 or 1a. It is the subject marker (SM) that links the verb to ‘the little boy’ in this case.

most of the description, does in fact not use any third person pronouns at all. Instead, she always repeats ‘the child’. However, in the last sentence she writes:

I see the child engqengqe ngomqolo on the bath.

To produce more or less the same meaning within the confines of Standard English, this sentence would have had to look something like this:

I see the child relaxing on its back in the bath.

Not only does this sentence feature two prepositional phrases⁸⁰ that make it rather complex, but it would also require the possessive pronoun ‘its’ (or ‘his’). In Standard Xhosa as well as when languaging in Khayelitsha, body parts, especially when used together with the instrumental ‘nga-’ (ngomqolo (nga- + umqolo) = by means of the back), are inalienable – meaning it is clear that they are ‘owned’ by whoever is described as acting with/by means of them. A possessive construction is therefore usually omitted with body parts. Enrolling ‘engqengqe ngomqolo’ elegantly circumvents complexities of reference tracking and sequential prepositional phrases she might not yet be able to navigate without compromising on meaning-making when moving exclusively within the confines of Standard English. Rather than risking not adhering to the conventions of Standard English, she writes up a new grammar and syntax – one that cannot be judged by standard criteria but that is a vehicle for clear and complex meaning in this context.

These examples strengthen my hypothesis that one reason for learners to orient towards the full classroom repertoire rather than exclusively towards Standard English is that they struggle to pick the conventional gendered third person pronoun (e.g. ‘she’/‘he’/‘it’) as a device to track reference. They then turn to the full classroom repertoire that offers a variety of more familiar resources for reliable reference tracking. With alternatives at hand, they can now sort out the Standard English reference trackers that are still confusing to them and choose more familiar ones. This is reminiscent of the way in which teachers sort out those resources via relanguaging that are potential stumbling blocks for their learners (see for example [4.5.6](#) & [5.2.6](#)).

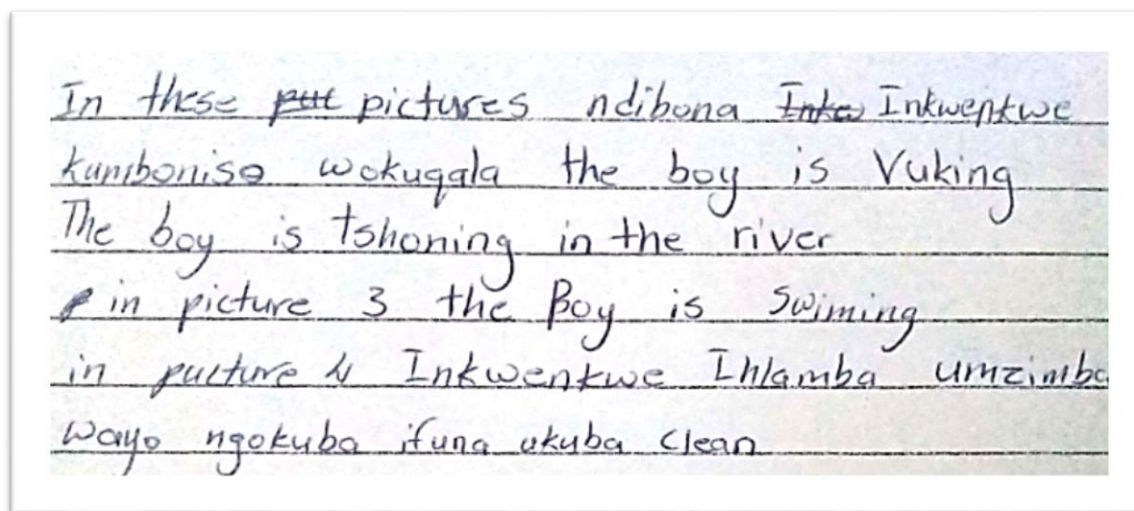
⁸⁰ Standard English prepositions are also challenging for learners as they come from a language background where the form of a noun changes to indicate locatives, while prepositions “are not reconstructable word categories” (Nurse & Philippson, 2003, p. 188).

If this *sorting out* was confirmed by further research, it would also show that those learners who do it already are aware of the points at which they are likely to overstep Standard English conventions. Learners who write heterogeneously might therefore sometimes display more advanced englishing skills than learners who write: ‘He enjoy her day.’ This is then another example for how heterogeneous writing exercises might actually tell us more about learners’ understanding of how Standard English works than monolingual tasks. Under a policy of monolingualism learners would *have to* choose one of the gendered pronouns. If they then produced a sentence like: ‘He enjoy her day,’ one would not be able to tell whether they grappled with the choice, aware of possibly violating conventions, or whether they were not problem-conscious at all. But the heterogeneous examples shown here seem to suggest an awareness of the complexities around gendered pronouns in Standard English rather than a blindness to them. Instead of choosing ‘the wrong pronoun’, learners sort out those potential stumbling blocks and turn to other resources, combining them in ways that are not subject to standard judgements but track reference coherently. Such writing strategies, I would argue, in their very heterogeneity actually display emergent englishing competencies as learners are approaching and sussing out the order of a homogenised statist repertoire.

I find referring to such writing practices as translingual writing (Velasco & García, 2014) misleading, as the term as a linguistic descriptor implies a non-watchfulness to constructed language boundaries (Otheguy et al., 2015). But what we observe here are learners’ intense negotiations of statist linguistic fixity rather than its transcendence. They strategically step out of the confines of Standard English to avoid violating the rules of that statist repertoire. In the process, they exploit specific affordances from the rest of the classroom repertoire that includes Standard Xhosa and/or Khayelitshan resources. They relanguage the complex heterogeneous repertoire of this school writing space by ordering it – in accordance with the statist vision – into two languageS and their associated orthographieS. They are therefore watchfully adhering to standard linguistic norms and are by no means cut off from them (see also Canagarajah, 2015).

6.2.5 Dis- and reassembling morphology

Example C - A tale of vuking, tshoning and swimming



- 1 In these ~~pue~~ pictures ndibona ~~Inke~~ Inkwenkwe
- 2 kumboniso wokuqala the boy is Vuking
- 3 The boy is tshoning in the river
- 4 in picture 3 the Boy is swimming
- 5 in picture 4 Inkwenkwe Ihlamba umzimba
- 6 wayo ngokuba ifuna ukuba clean

Overall, this piece is a great illustration of what Khayelitshan languaging could look like in writing. We see a slight insecurity about how to spell 'picture' in the first line where she first writes 'pue' (C1) and then corrects herself, while in C5 she doesn't correct herself and writes 'pucture'. Similarly so with 'Inkwenkwe', where she starts with 'Inke' (C1), but then corrects herself to add in the 'w'. Apart from this and some 'out of place' capitals, she seems confident in juggling SWX as well as SWE orthography, applying each spelling convention to its administratively assigned set of linguistic features. With those resources sorted out and at hand, she is able to take advantage of the possibility of choosing freely from the whole inventory of linguistic possibilities she has access to. One of the possibilities she actualises is '-ing' – a feature

used frequently and comparably confidently across many SWE and heterogeneous writing pieces in the sample in this study (see also [6.2.1](#)).

This learner stands out, because she seamlessly applies this feature to the verb stem ‘-vuk-’ (*wake up*), a Khayelitshan and Standard Xhosa resource. She adheres to the same rules that Standard English requires for the inflection of a verb that ends in a vowel – for example ‘take’ loses its final vowel when inflected into ‘taking’, just like ‘-vuka’ loses its final vowel when here inflected into ‘vuking’. The same strategy is apparent when she builds the continuous tense with the verb stem ‘-tshon-’ (*sink/ drown*) ([C3](#)). This use of ‘vuking’ and ‘tshoning’ reminded me of how teachers in their classroom languaging often rely on their learners to recognise different pieces of morphology as being separable and mobile and to disassemble and sort these features out according to different languageS. I used the example of ‘ndiyitrainile’ and the Grade 4 teacher’s interview comment about her use of ‘meanisha’ in class to illustrate this point in [4.3.3](#). She said: “I want them to get the word ‘mean’. U-sha they know is Xhosa” (Interview Grade 4 Teacher). It is exactly this disassembling – but also reassembling – of morphemes that we can observe in this learner’s writing. Even though the feature ‘-ing’ is only taught with examples of Standard English verbs in class, the learner here shows that she has understood the rules of the englishing game and can confidently apply them for her own purposes beyond a limited set of verbs. Taking advantage of the freedom provided by this unconventional, heterogenised school writing space, she uses the affordances and the expressive potential of ‘-ing’ without being concerned with the conflation of grammatical features and languageS ([2.1.2](#)).

Apart from appearing rather playful and creative, ‘vuking’ might also help the learner to get around having to use a phrasal verb with ‘-ing’ as in ‘the boy is waking up’. The use of ‘tshoning’ might be easier than thinking about how to spell ‘drowning’ with the rather uncommon SWE digraph ‘ow’. Those two verb forms might therefore allow the learner to exploit the semantic potential of ‘-ing’ and demonstrate her morphological assembling skills without getting muddled up in phrasal verbs and spelling complications that she might not yet navigate confidently. One has to be careful, however, not to reduce such writing to an avoidance strategy and also consider the possibility that this learner in fact simply prefers ‘vuking’ and ‘tshoning’ over ‘waking up’ and ‘drowning’, because she might want to show off her creative languaging skills or feels that these forms allow her to express particular shades of meaning that the

other forms would not have offered. Her forms might simply be the best choice for what she has to say and/or a way of demonstrating to potential readers what she can do with language.

The following can be inferred from this learner's practices with regard to teaching Standard English in Khayelitsha: Similarly to the abstraction of a task instruction from the learners rewriting in Example A (6.2.2), the 'vuking' and 'tshoning' example can be used to inspire verb-form-assembling tasks where learners could test Standard English morphology on Standard Xhosa or Khayelitshan verbs and vice versa. Such exercises would value the resources and languaging skills learners bring to the classroom and further their metalinguistic awareness of the mobility of morphemes at the same time.

I have not yet attended to the third time this learner assembles the feature '-ing' in her writing (in C4 where she writes: 'in picture 3 the Boy is swimming') for reasons I will explain below.

6.2.6 Swimming or swimming? Deficit or potential?

When I first looked at this writing piece, I saw three instances of '-ing': 'vuking', 'tshoning' and 'swimming'. As discussed above, two of them, 'vuking' and 'tshoning', struck me as innovative and skilful, whereas 'swimming' did not. Instead I saw it as a 'spelling mistake' – a learner trying to write the Standard English form 'swimming' but failing to realise the second '-m-'. Simple. I had, however, committed not to revert to terms like 'mistake' or 'error' in my analyses (1.7), so I looked again.

I realised that I had in fact heard people use the verb root '-swim-' in Khayelitshan languaging. There is a beach not too far off, where everyone likes to celebrate Christmas or New Years' Eve. Going to the beach and (not) being able to swim are sometimes topics of conversation. I also realised that, in fact, if I were to explain to someone in Khayelitsha that I like to swim, I would say something like: 'Ndiyathanda ukuswima.' A Google search for the infinitive 'ukuswima' (*to swim*) generates 235 hits in online writing⁸¹ – predominantly on social media – from across South Africa. The verb root '-swim-' is then not only a potential Standard English and Khayelitshan

⁸¹ [Click here](#) for the relevant Google search (last accessed on 13.08.2019).

resource, but seems sedimented in a variety of spatial repertoires in South Africa – including in online spaces.

Seeing ‘swim’ as not necessarily a Standard English resource in this space opens a new analytical avenue with regard to [Example C](#): ‘swiming’ might in fact be used no differently from ‘vuking’ and ‘tshoning’ – as a Khayelitshan verb root with the present continuous marker ‘-ing’. This interpretation sheds a different light on the spelling of ‘swiming’ with one ‘m’. Standard Xhosa orthography generally doesn’t allow for double consonants⁸² and therefore ‘ukuswima’, even though it ends in a vowel, would still only be spelled with one ‘m’. Accordingly, when attaching the vowel-commencing present tense continuous suffix ‘-ing’, the learner also abstains from inserting another ‘m’. If we consider the different sets of orthographic conventions that can be folded into the English classroom during a writing activity, then we see that what we might read as a failure to comply with one set of standard orthographic conventions (SWE) might in fact be a successful orientation towards another such set of standard conventions (SWX).

The example of ‘swiming’ then highlights the difference between reading township school writing with an orientation towards deficit versus one towards potential. This is the difference, I would argue, between seeing like a state and seeing like a Khayelitshan languager. When I saw ‘swiming’ as a spelling mistake, I was seeing like a state. When I considered the option that the verb ‘-swima’ might be involved, I began seeing like a Khayelitshan languager. It is the latter perspective that allowed me to see creativity instead of limitation and emergent englishing instead of deficient Standard English.

6.3 Chapter discussion

I have started this chapter with the hypothesis that a strictly monolingual policy in writing hides part of learners’ existing englishing competencies. The latter, then, might only become visible in a space that allows for heterogeneity and experimentation but is still within the normative space of the school.

⁸² There are some exceptions if morpheme boundaries are involved. For example ‘ndiyammamela’ would feature two ‘m’, but the first one is an Object Marker for class 1/1a and the second one is the initial letter of the verb ‘-mamela’ (*listen*): ndi-ya-m-mamel-a (*I listen to her/him*).

Englishing in spaces like Khayelitsha, which are constituted by heterogeneous linguistic possibilities, presupposes relanguaging – the *sorting out* of those resources that do not count as Standard English, because they are not codified as such (see also [4.4.4](#)). Once sorted out, the homogenised repertoire can be actualised through englishing. Translanguaging posits that such sorting processes happen in the minds of individual speakers (García & Wei, 2014; Otheguy et al., 2015). This chapter has shown that analyses of heterogeneous writing can indeed make visible such spatialised sorting and choosing processes. This became especially clear in [6.2.3](#), where we saw a learner in the immediate process of *sorting out* the spelling of [i:] in

kwifoto yesibini ➡ I si ➡ I see

according to an emerging idea of what is asked for in different languageS and the associated orthographieS. Therefore, in the very heterogeneity of some writing pieces, learners' emerging awareness of the workings of SWE in contrast to SWX orthography became visible. Such pieces also push us to pay attention to the demand placed on Khayelitshan learners to handle and get tested via two orthographieS in their early schooling careers ([1.4](#)). An acute awareness of this fact is necessary, I argue, to assess learners' writing in spatially sensitive ways – a point that I will discuss further in the conclusion.

Apart from spelling, the examples of reference tracking via third person gendered pronouns have also shown how heterogeneity can actually speak of a strong orientation towards the rules of Standard English. Learners seem to avoid 'getting English wrong' by *sorting out* those Standard English features that confuse them, to then draw on alternative resources. Avoiding such pitfalls through relanguaging means that they have a sense about where these potential pitfalls lurk in the first place and what they need to sort out in order to avoid them – very similar to teachers who know when 'something would go wrong' (e.g. [4.3.5](#) & [4.5.4](#)). This in turn means these learners have an emergent idea of the rules that constitute Standard English – e.g. that different gendered third person pronouns are required in different scenarios – and actively grapple with them. By reversing the perspective and starting from heterogeneous writing, we can therefore make visible what learners can do instead of what they cannot do in this space.

The examples of ‘vuking’ and ‘tshoning’ – even though these forms do not count as Standard English – display the englishing competency of assembling the present continuous tense across various verbs. Furthermore, in this writing piece we see reflected the teachers’ assumption that their learners can treat morphology as separable and mobile and dis- and reassemble pieces as part of learning to english (as discussed in [4.4.3](#) with the examples of ‘ndiyitrainilie’ and ‘meanisha’). Somewhat unexpectedly, therefore, letting learners write heterogeneously can in this case confirm and substantiate the knowledge that teachers have about their learners’ languaging skills and the way it guides their teaching. There could be an explicit feedback loop about these emerging skills if learners were allowed to write heterogeneously in English classrooms. But for now this is unthinkable, due the strong ideologies of – and the departmental pressure for – linguistic purity in writing (as discussed in [6.1.2](#)).

The last example has illustrated how an unscrutinised statist vision, which only considers languageS as reference points in analyses, doesn’t allow us to see anything but a ‘spelling mistake’ in ‘swimming’.⁸³ Considering linguistic features as linked to spaces, however, allows us to see ‘-swima’ as a Khayelitshan resource and ‘swimming’ as derived from that form in adherence to SWX orthography. Unsettling the statist lens and providing alternatives is therefore indeed a matter of educational justice – not because the statist vision has to be altogether discarded, but because it is not illuminating enough on its own. We need the local languager’s vision to complement it, if we are seriously concerned about teaching and assessing the mastery of the principles of Standard English in a locally appropriate and fair way.

This chapter has also shown that we can learn from learners when working towards such locally appropriate teaching and assessment of SWE. The learner who rewrote part of her own text in [6.2.2](#) has shown us how task instructions could be developed that make learners first practice and then rewrite SWE, giving them a chance to express their nuanced understanding of the material via the full spatial repertoire they have access to – without compromising on engagement with the targeted statist repertoire. The ‘vuking’ and ‘tshoning’ example inspired thought on verb-form-assembling tasks where learners could test Standard English features on Standard Xhosa or

⁸³ By the way: Microsoft Word autocorrect clearly sees like a state, because it changes ‘swimming’ into ‘swimming’ each time I write it and then I have to go back and correct it into ‘swimming’.

Khayelitshan ones and vice versa, to value the resources they bring and to further their metalinguistic awareness of the mobility of morphemes. But rather than being concerned about the concrete shape of tasks that could be developed, I am here advocating a method of abstracting appropriate content for curricula from situated practices of teachers and learners – an approach that I will flesh out more in the upcoming conclusion of this thesis.

In light of these findings, suggestions of a lack of standard linguistic norms in spaces like Khayelitsha, which allegedly keeps learners and teachers stuck in peripheral normativity (Blommaert et al., 2005), have to be strongly rejected. The opposite has to be considered, namely that there is an oversupply of standard linguistic norms that learners have to navigate, which they often do quite successfully. Due to this oversupply, Khayelitshan learners have to be skilful relanguagers, good at ordering and *sorting out* heterogeneous spatial repertoires according to two languageS. They demonstrate how they can do that in their writing, if given the chance. But if we look through a statist, homogenising lens we cannot see how they are sorting things out.

While I as an analyst am constantly concerned not to see like a state, this chapter shows learners who have taken on this statist perspective and are learning to order their writing accordingly. Their heterogeneous writing pieces are not products of translanguaging – a practice associated with a non-watchfulness towards constructed language boundaries (Otheguy et al., 2015). Instead, their writing is a product of relanguaging, of *sorting out* the complex heterogeneous repertoire of this school writing space while being watchful towards – but not yet always a hundred percent in keeping with – standard linguistic norms.

The problem with translanguaging, as I see it, is that – as a linguistic descriptor – it is constructed as inherently different from standard languageS. This dichotomy becomes apparent when Otheguy et al. (2015) argue that languageS are *never* relevant categories for linguistic analyses under the translanguaging paradigm. So if we decide to stand on the translanguaging side, then we are no longer allowed to see the role of languageS. This explains why translingual writing is mostly described as occurring in the planning and drafting stages of what is later to become a written piece in a standard language, or for particular stylistic points in the final product (Velasco & García, 2014). Translingual writing has also been promoted in higher education contexts for

students to develop their individual voices and to unsettle linguistic purism in academic writing (Canagarajah, 2013). But translanguaging is not used when testing for competencies in standard languageS because there are said to be no languageS in translanguaging.

The analyses I provided here, in search for *re-* rather than *trans*languaging, instead suggest that we can see linguistic heterogeneity as inclusive of – but not limited to – linguistic homogeneity. If we can see writing that displays englishing competencies without being in English-only, then we can see languaging as inclusive of languageS. This has consequences for conceptualisations of language teaching, learning and testing, because it means that there is no need to posit that competency in a standard language can only be tested monolingually – a point that I will discuss more in the conclusion.

7 Conclusion – So what?

7.1 Seeing more

I have argued throughout this work that existing concepts of language (re)produce blind spots in our analyses of language practices. I illustrated this with the example of Khayelitshan English classrooms, where we are left to see mostly linguistic deficit and the absence of Standard English if we rely on analytical concepts that do not thoroughly unsettle what I have described as the default conflation of linguistic features and languageS (2.1.2). This relic from classical linguistic thought still finds its way into the application of concepts like code-switching (2.2.2) and even into inchoative ideas like translanguaging (2.2.3) that are meant to free us from being caught in languageS when analysing languaging.

When relying on these concepts we therefore would not capture what exactly language education in Khayelitsha looks like beyond homogenised languageS and whether there is more to discover than linguistic lack and deficit. In this experiment I have then inflicted upon myself some serious word-finding difficulties by *sorting out* a range of established analytical descriptors for linguistic analyses (1.7). The resulting quest for

new vocabulary has overall proven productive, as it forced me to explore different analytical and descriptive avenues.

Seeing that ‘swimming’ could be a manifestation of a learner’s linguistic sorting skills is a result of my refusal to describe it as a ‘spelling mistake’. Shedding light on ‘u-’ as a metalanguaging device and an englishing marker depended on *not* labelling ‘uangry’ a ‘heteroglossic term’ that has some general functions in common with other such non-monolingual terms. Discovering ‘train’ as (also) a Khayelitshan resource relates to rejecting a default association of linguistic features with languageS and – by conceptualising languaging as a spatial practice – attempting to analytically attach them to spaces of interaction instead.

Linking linguistic features to space instead of languageS has also produced more detailed questions about these features’ individual occurrences; questions we then also could ask teachers in interview. Their detailed responses, combined with the linguistic, ethnographic and conversation analytical approach to the data that took the agency of individual linguistic detail seriously, has revealed Khayelitshan English classrooms to be spaces that offer a wide range of heterogeneous linguistic possibilities. The fact that learners and teachers share the languaging of the township, which is characterised by heterogeneity and flexibility ([1.2](#)), means that the ensemble of linguistic possibilities in the English classroom that teachers have at their disposal is extended in different ways compared to that in classrooms at for example ex-model C schools. The latter are the schools where learners and teachers perform well in standardised assessments and are therefore seen (when seeing like a state) as in the lead in South African education. However, useful tools like ‘u-’ are likely absent from these sought-after classrooms, where teachers generally have only very limited access to the resources that characterise the out-of-school language practices of most of their learners. Neither would their teacher training, which is English-centred and does not value heterogeneous language practices (see for example [4.4.3](#); [5.1.2](#) & [5.2.7](#)), introduce them to the intricacies of Bantu morphology, even though a substantial proportion of their learners is likely to come from language backgrounds where the affordances of such morphology play a central role.

When teaching English, Khayelitshan teachers therefore handle and shape classroom repertoires that offer them more linguistic affordances but they also need to put more

effort into ordering and sorting out these repertoires, so that they do not lose sight of their mandate to provide learners with access to homogenised Standard English. I have described the practice with which teachers order and sort out linguistic possibilities from the classroom repertoire as *relinguaging* in this work. Teachers were shown to *sort out* or *bring together* linguistic possibilities from the classroom repertoire before actualising them into classroom languaging or englishing. I had conceptualised relanguaging first as emerging at the threshold of linguistic heterogeneity and homogeneity, systematically preparing either classroom languaging or classroom englishing (2.4). But this convenient binary broke down at certain points throughout the analyses, which I interpreted as a sign that I had stopped linguistically seeing like a state. We then saw relanguaging occur within the Standard English repertoire as well, now at the threshold of what the teacher considered likely accessible and likely inaccessible englishing for her learners – like when she sorted out ‘who he is’ from ‘He can always remember who he is,’ as a potential stumbling block for her learners, replacing it with a direct speech construction (4.5.6). Or when the teacher relanguaged complex passages from the test paper into more accessible englishing that made implicit information explicit. It became clear that, from a perspective that posits heterogeneity as the norm, a binary between homo- and heterogeneity cannot be maintained. By zooming in on individual linguistic features and then looking at how they shape the classroom repertoire, ‘maybe yichicken’ (4.3.3 & 4.3.4) and ‘in Mrs Mann's house he didn't have to work’ (5.3.3) were shown to both be outcomes of relanguaging as an ordering of the spatial repertoire to facilitate a didactics of explicitness.

Linguistic homogeneity or heterogeneity, therefore, do not necessarily mark different languaging or teaching strategies – they might in some cases, but not always. Therefore the two do not form a binary that consistently legitimises analyses of one as separate from the other. Their distinction is not relevant in every space at every point in time – it is only the statist lens that makes us believe that it is (5.3.3). Relanguaging, therefore, cannot always be discovered by spotting non-monolingual language practices in a way reminiscent of the statist vision that posits homogeneity as the norm and heterogeneity as the deviation – or at least as the interesting event. Accordingly, what exactly constitutes relanguaging is always relative to space and the mechanism cannot be spotted at surface-level without conceptualising what constitutes the linguistic space

in which it occurs and which it simultaneously produces. This differentiates the term from translanguaging as a linguistic descriptor, which has been applied “from school to street and beyond” (Lewis et al., 2012, p. 641) and always tends to signify the same thing: heterogeneous language practices that are per-se interesting and fulfil functions that are different from homogeneous practices.

Relanguaging has the potential to unsettle the binary between languageS and languaging so that we can conceptualise them together, and it might therefore become a useful descriptor for linguistic dynamics in spaces of language teaching. The term describes a complex sorting mechanism that requires further exploration. It needs to be examined, for example, in how far the relanguaging circles I have built are models with illustrative and explanatory potential beyond the data analysed in this thesis. Here, the circles have helped me to show that relanguaging, as observed in this study, is more accurately described as emerging at the threshold of teachers’ responsibility towards their learners on the one hand and towards the state – more specifically educational officials – on the other. This threshold sometimes coincides with that between linguistic hetero- and homogeneity and other times with that between accessible and inaccessible englishing, but it always reflects teachers’ simultaneous orientation towards their learners and towards what is expected by the curriculum. Relanguaging, in the case of Khayelitsha Primary, appears as a pivotal practice that can be seen to repair the ruptures between the demands of a centralised curriculum and Khayelitshan linguistic and educational realities, as I will discuss further below.

7.2 Seeing like a township teacher

Being an English teacher at Khayelitsha Primary means to see like a Khayelitshan learner and like a state at the same time. Teachers, therefore, have an eye on their learners’ needs and an eye on statist demands, which are expressed for example in examination papers. In other words, they have an eye on local languaging and an eye on Standard English; an eye on Khayelitsha and an eye on the state. Through relanguaging, they integrate these two perspectives into a complementary vision: They sort out the classroom repertoire to satisfy statist demands and bring resources together to speak to the linguistic needs and skills of their learners. Relanguaging, I argue, facilitates what is increasingly found by South African scholars to be “in many ways

an impossible task of teaching children with an inappropriate language policy and a complete lack of language support in textbooks and assessment” (Bua-Lit Collective, 2018, p. 20).

Plenty of translanguaging literature urges teachers to value the flexible linguistic skills of their learners instead of prioritising monolingualism. The two teachers in focus in this study do both, by thinking linguistic hetero- and homogeneity together. They are well aware of what the Department of Education wants (Standard English) and what it doesn’t want (‘code-switching’), but they still merge the two. This awareness of statist demands for linguistic homogeneity makes relanguaging as *bringing together*, which often results in heterogeneous classroom languaging, a subversive practice with which teachers change the rules of the game and resist official prescriptions for monolingualism. This happens in a quest to eventually make learners adhere to these same prescriptions so they can satisfy the demands of the curriculum (5.2 & 5.3). It is therefore the teachers’ subversive practices that ultimately support the system that makes such subversion necessary in the first place (5.4.3).

While the teachers at Khayelitsha Primary normally manage to combine pedagogically valuable teaching strategies with this aim of system compliance, if the systemic pressure for English-only becomes too strong, teachers are forced to look more into the direction of the state and teaching strategies can turn into prompting and coaching practices. The analysis of the test lesson illustrated this (5.3). I have argued that the spatial assemblage here is different from everyday classroom activities. The traceable test paper, to be filled with written responses in homogenised SWE, makes educational officials’ demands for English-only more present in the classroom and turns relanguaging from something that prepares pedagogically valuable didactic strategies into the basis for a test coaching practice that trains learners to listen out for answers rather than to productively engage with the material. Now the teacher is less oriented towards teaching her learners how to English and more towards making them produce what the education system expects of them: Standard English. This orientation towards officialdom becomes visible in a largely homogenised classroom repertoire during the testing activity. Even in that process, however, she still manages to some extent to cater to the needs of her learners, creatively bringing *Oliver Twist* characters to life in the Khayelitshan classroom, showing us that relanguaging is not limited to what are traditionally considered to be linguistic features (5.3.5). But when it comes to the test

questions, the pressure to make her learners pass – so that the department will not ‘come after her’ – wins, and she uses relanguaging basically to tell her class what to write ([5.3.6](#) & [5.3.7](#)).

A case can be made that the teachers’ knowledge and practices act as the glue that can keep a centralised curriculum – which relies on multiple homogenised standard languageS as vehicles for testing – and local heterogeneous linguistic realities together. Teachers’ complementary vision allows them to keep South African education working and they are therefore not peripheral but central to the system. In ironic reversal of the conclusion in the curriculum evaluation report, where “weak educator knowledge capacity” (Department of Education, 2017, p. 22) keeps the CAPS curriculum from providing equitable education across South Africa, there are indications here that it is the complementary vision instantiated in the relanguaging skills of these very teachers that makes the curriculum implementable in the first place. Without it, ‘half of the class would fail’ (comp. Grade 5 Teacher quoted in [5.3.7](#)), eagle stories would remain poems ([4.3.1](#)), and synonyms for ‘angry’ would be lost ([5.2](#)) in Standard English texts that learners cannot access, because the first three years of schooling they spent almost exclusively on learning how to access Standard Xhosa texts.

The evidence for these intense negotiations of linguistic hetero- and homogeneity – and of the needs of their learners and the demands of the state – that are displayed in township teachers’ language practices is simultaneously evidence against the argument that teachers and learners are stuck in peripheral normativity and have ‘downscaled’ education to the level of their local community (Blommaert et al., 2005). Teachers order the classroom repertoire through relanguaging based on detailed knowledge about Standard English and the specific struggles their learners face when trying to access it. In-depth interviews that zoomed in on the use of particular linguistic features have revealed such knowledge in this study.

Therefore, instead of being cut off from standard linguistic norms, teachers at Khayelitsha Primary are entangled in negotiations between languaging and languageS. Relanguaging instantiates these negotiations in the classroom. Forms like ‘ndiyitrainile’ ([4.4](#)) in this space do not reveal a lack of standard linguistic norms or their transcendence but are strategic pointers into Standard English. The morpheme

‘u-‘ can mark words as Standard English rather than transcend linguistic fixity – languageS are in the languaging here, and through a lens that assumes heterogeneity we can identify norms associated with homogenised codes in heterogeneous practices. Thus there is no lack of standard norms in Khayelitsha, rather we have not been looking for them in the proper place. We have been looking for them as separate from linguistic heterogeneity and fluidity as ‘something different’.

Rather than peripheral, teachers at schools like Khayelitsha Primary are in fact central to the workings of South African education. Their central role, however, remains invisible in a system that constructs linguistic homo- and heterogeneity as strictly separate and posits the former as the norm and the latter as the deviation. Our notion of the standard tends to be too fixed to find traces of it anywhere outside its own confines and our notion of languaging too fluid to be accommodative of fixed elements. How orientations towards linguistic homogeneity and standard linguistic norms can be found in heterogeneous languaging has also been illustrated in the analyses of learners’ writing ([chapter 6](#)).

7.3 Blind spots blocking educational change

It is not only teachers who have to sort out the classroom repertoire before they actualise linguistic possibilities. In fact, learners have even more intense *sorting out* to do. In order to understand why they are often silenced under a strictly enforced policy of monolingualism, one has to ‘see’ that language learning at Khayelitsha Primary means beginning from a heterogeneous Khayelitshan repertoire and then having to relanguage it – to sort it out in order comply with two languageS: Standard Xhosa and Standard English.

When viewing languaging as a spatial practice, then this sorting process imposed on Khayelitshan learners is not a consequence of their particularly complex individual repertoires, as translanguaging scholarship with its focus on individual speakers and their mental grammars has it (García & Wei, 2014; Otheguy et al., 2015). Rather, the fact that they have to become relanguagers is actively produced by a system that enforces two standard languageS in early schooling that are both in their own ways quite removed from Khayelitshan languaging. As a Khayelitshan learner, if you cannot

relanguage – i.e. in this case if you cannot sort out a heterogeneous spatial repertoire into languageS – then you can neither xhosa nor english, yet you need both to succeed in primary school. Again in relation to the peripheral normativity argument and the general construction of township schools as linguistic dead-ends (1.6), this study has shown that Khayelitshan learners do not confront a lack but an oversupply of standard linguistic norms (6.2.3), as the state brings to bear two homogenised ordering regimes on heterogeneous linguistic realities.

The analyses of the writing pieces revealed that the practice that enables Khayelitshan learners to produce something that fits the Standard English category is indeed relanguaging – the ordering and *sorting out* of heterogeneous spatial repertoires. It is only then that they can english – actualise the sorted, homogenised repertoire. Allowing for heterogeneous writing and analysing it as a spatial practice makes visible relanguaging as a complex, multidirectional linguistic sorting practice that can bring forth emergent englishing. This sorting practice became especially visible for example in the spelling trajectory that lead from ‘kwifoto yesibini’ to ‘I si’ and then to ‘I see’ (6.2.3) but also in the general juggling of several orthographic norms and the *sorting out* of Standard English gendered pronouns to replace them with familiar morphological reference trackers (6.2.4).

These intense negotiations of linguistic fixity in fluidity, which learners can be shown to engage in when legitimising heterogeneous writing practices, are invisible to educational officials. As it stands, seeing like a state in South African education means *not to see* linguistic sorting skills – neither those of teachers nor those of learners. This is because educational administrators get information about learners’ and teachers’ performance across schools with the help of standardised tests and measurements that rely on categories and scales. With regard to English teaching and learning, the measurement scales begin and end within the confines of Standard English, limiting administrators’ eyesight to this statist repertoire. The threshold of heterogeneity and homogeneity – where relanguaging often takes place and englishing emerges – is not part of the unit of measurement and therefore invisible. What is left to be seen is rudimentary Standard English, just enough to pass the tests. Those tests can be passed (barely), because teachers are to some degree able to glue over the ruptures in a system that turns learners into professional relanguagers and emergent englishers but, blind to its own product, tests them within the confines of languageS. From the statist

perspective where linguistic homogeneity is the norm, only deficient Standard English – and by extension deficient education – exists in Khayelitsha.

This restricted eyesight also limits available options for educational change. Either education needs to be ‘downscaled’ in reaction to alleged local deficiencies, or the status quo must be maintained under the motto that those learners who work hard enough will make it. These two options are reflected in the 2017 CAPS evaluation report, which brings up the following question:

Should a ‘watered-down’ version of CAPS be implemented in rural contexts, or indeed in Quintile 1-3 schools, since, as a group, they are disadvantaged compared with those in Quintiles 4 and 5? (Department of Education, 2017, p. 19)

Educational administrators counter this suggestion with a sameness-equals-fairness argument, according to which the same curriculum ensures that learners across the country have the same chances and adjusting standards locally is therefore not an option (Department of Education, 2017, p. 19). The sensible thought of the evaluators to be read from the watering-down suggestion is that curricula might have to be spatially adequate and not the same across the country. As usual, however, this is framed in the powerful discourse of lack and disadvantage within which rural and township schools are constructed in South African education. Here it is not even enough to depict these schools as peripheral spaces to which the centre would have to look out. Rather they become subordinate spaces for which standards would have to be watered down because learners and teachers there cannot keep up. Neither option – watering things down nor leaving everything as it is – suggests any scrutiny regarding the dominant deficit perspective on township or lower-quintile schools that would take the particular linguistic skills learners and teachers develop in these spaces into account.

As it stands, the interaction between teachers in these spaces and educational stakeholders seems to be hung up in an unproductive balance. From the perspective of the teachers it doesn’t make sense to speak up about the struggles they have in dealing with ‘books with too difficult words’ (comp. Grade 5 Teacher quoted in [2.3.2](#)) or in making learners pass English tests. This is because they cannot expect much understanding from departmental officials, in whose eyes ‘code-switching’ is to be avoided and who might ‘come after’ teachers if many learners fail in tests ([5.3.1](#)). With

the prospect of having their teaching and their English language competencies – or indeed their very capacity for knowledge – questioned more readily than the structures of the administrative system that they are a part of, it can be assumed that most teachers keep quiet so as not to attract any attention.

In the face of the complexity of English teaching and learning in Khayelitsha, it can be argued that educational stakeholders should consider relanguaging their language when giving accounts of township schools or lower-quintile schools more generally. The contempt towards teachers' English skills and 'knowledge capacity' is oblivious to what it means to keep things together linguistically in Khayelitshan English classrooms. Then again, stakeholders are in fact literally blind to relanguaging with which English teachers and learners juggle statist demands. The responsibility for educational change therefore does not exclusively lie with educational stakeholders – even though a change in their attitudes must certainly be a big part of the move towards more equitable education – but linguists in education also have to produce analyses that can lead to visible and feasible alternatives. So what could enable officials to see linguistic sorting skills and what would that mean?

7.4 Recommendations

As of now, linguistic homogeneity occupies centre stage and heterogeneity symbolises the periphery – and even subordination – in educational discourse around English in South Africa. Relating to education more generally it has been noted that there is a “lack of take up in language in education policy and practice of anti-essentialist and heteroglossic approaches to language from critical applied linguistics and sociolinguistics” (McKinney et al., 2015, p. 121). In turn, scholars in the country increasingly call for policies that put translanguaging or languaging-for-learning centre stage, to do justice to the complex sociolinguistic realities of the majority population that remains marginalised in education (Banda, 2018; Bua-Lit Collective, 2018; Guzula et al., 2016). Translanguaging here has become a powerful language-political term that unites movements and voices advocating for educational change. While I scrutinise and critically evaluate translanguaging as a linguistic descriptor, because it draws attention to surface-level phenomena and makes us overlook

important details that matter, I nevertheless value the term because of its potential for political mobilisation.

Based on my findings, which have revealed Khayelitsha English classrooms as spaces of specific possibilities, I align myself with calls to put exactly these heterogeneous resources and learners' and teachers' existing languaging skills centre stage in South African education. Nevertheless, operating as it stands within the order of the nation state, we need to also be concerned with how the state's demands for legibility and measurability can be sufficiently satisfied if the focus is to shift from a preoccupation with linguistic purity and boundedness towards flexible languaging skills that, by definition, are harder to account for via standardised tests. On the basis of the findings presented in this study I wish to contribute to these calls for educational change in South Africa a narrative that relates specifically to the teaching of English – or maybe of languageS more generally – and that might help bridge the gap between educational stakeholders and learners and teachers in Khayelitsha and beyond.

In my view what is needed is an empirically and theoretically well-founded argument that can convince educational stakeholders that linguistic heterogeneity is not inherently different from standard languageS and therefore not detrimental to their teaching and acquisition. Quite the contrary: It needs to be convincingly argued and demonstrated that it is linguistic sorting practices that lead to the acquisition of standard languageS in spaces like Khayelitsha and that these can only become visible when linguistic heterogeneity is also allowed to become visible. Like linguists, state officials and state influencers who work on language policy must learn to 'see' linguistic heterogeneity as the norm and homogeneity as the result of increasingly sophisticated linguistic sorting practices.

This then is firstly a call for a spatially sensitive linguistics that commits to untying the knot of languageS and linguistic features until languageS are no longer analytical default categories. Simultaneously, the claim that languageS are altogether irrelevant categories in linguistics (Otheguy et al., 2015) has to be rejected because this would make linguists blind to scenarios where statist repertoires are in fact oriented towards and watchfully adhered to – for example in educational spaces. Conceptualising translanguaging as an individual practice that is undistracted by languageS doesn't seem helpful for describing and explaining linguistic dynamics in such spaces. Within

the minds of individuals we have no possibility to detect linguistic sorting processes. We can therefore also not reconcile linguistic hetero- and homogeneity, because relanguaging, the mechanism that entangles them, remains hidden. The new wave of translanguistics then runs the risk of reproducing unsustainable and unhelpful binaries, this time making linguistic homogeneity the odd-one-out, reminiscent of how classical linguistics has systematically shut out linguistic heterogeneity (see also Jaspers, 2019). We can return here to Hymes as quoted in [2.2.1](#), who said that

we have to break with the tradition of thought which simply equates one language, one culture, and takes a set of functions for granted. In order to deal with the problems faced by disadvantaged children, and with education in much of the world, we have to begin with the conception of the speech habits, or competencies, of a community or population, and regard the place among them of the resources of historically-derived languages as an empirical question (Hymes, 1972, p. 288).

This can be read as a call to put linguistic heterogeneity centre stage but to keep our concepts open for languageS. I argue that progress into this direction can be made by thinking further about what it means to see languaging as a spatial practice and to exploit the inchoative concept of spatial repertoires not only outside of, but also within institutionally regulated linguistic spaces. With the help of the conceptualisation of classroom repertoires as folding into one another linguistic hetero-and homogeneity, and the relanguaging model that makes visible the linguistic sorting practices of teachers and learners in these spaces, it can be argued that standard linguistic norms can be read from heterogeneous practices. If linguistic homogeneity can be conceptualised as the result of sorting processes that begin from a heterogeneous norm, then standard languageS become possible constituents of languaging.

Conjunctive conceptualisations of languaging and languageS can produce new ideas to address problems in (language) education. For English classrooms in Khayelitsha (and arguably beyond) this means that Standard English neither needs to be taught nor tested exclusively within its own confines. Instead, teaching strategies can be formalised that promote the advancement of relanguaging skills – examples are the teachers' vocabulary teaching strategies via Khayelitshan morphology (meanisha; ndiyitrainile..) and their oscillation between heterogeneous classroom languaging and the demonstration of englishing.

So maybe, instead of judging how teachers teach and measuring how learners write within a predefined statist repertoire, the degree of advancement of their linguistic sorting skills could be measured, while they are learning exactly what goes where in the game of xhosing, englishing and Khayelitshan languaging. All this would mean to turn English classrooms into englishing classrooms that assume heterogeneity as the baseline condition from which a journey towards Standard English begins. Instead of finding heterogeneous deviations in supposedly homogeneous practices we can turn the perspective on its head to look for homogeneity in heterogeneity and formalise techniques of gradually eliciting it. I argue that in this process of developing such techniques, illustrations from spaces where teachers have been teaching and learners have been learning how to sort out heterogeneous classroom repertoires all along, might be helpful (see also Bua-Lit Collective, 2018).

Rather than (solely) relying on descriptions and prescriptions of translanguaging strategies from educational settings in the global North, I suggest we build a knowledge base that consists of detailed descriptions of how English teaching currently functions in spaces like Khayelitsha. We are just beginning to explore the details of the expertise hidden in schools that have traditionally been banned to the periphery. We need more studies that make it visible, render it accessible and make its productive features strategically reproducible. In-depth linguistic ethnographies are essential here and I hope this study has given some insight with regard to what fine-grained enquiry beyond languageS could look like. With an expanding knowledge fund, appropriate content for curricula could be abstracted from situated practices and illustrated with examples from these spaces. Why not formalise strategies of metalanguaging and vocabulary teaching via Bantu morphology? All English teachers in South Africa, who are almost bound to have Bantu language speakers in their classes, could profit from extending their English classrooms' repertoires by knowing how to use 'u-' or other morphological affordances that can facilitate access to Standard English. Why not promote the ability 'turn an English word into a Xhosa word' (comp. [Interview Excerpt d](#), p.122) to help learners access Standard English vocabulary? Is that so far-fetched for teachers at more affluent schools to learn?

When it comes to testing, tasks can be developed that speak to learners' particular linguistic skills and struggles – rewriting and verb form assembling tasks ([6.2.2](#) & [6.2.5](#)) are examples I here elicited from learners' practices – and scales can be

developed that measure learners' progression as they gain increasing access to Standard English and become able to sort out more and more Khayelitshan resources. For example, they might still need Khayelitshan noun class agreement morphology to unambiguously express referential relationships in their emergent englishing, because reference tracking via only three gendered pronouns has been shown to be especially difficult for these learners in their writing (6.2.4). Teachers have also been shown to avoid Standard English third person pronouns in their classroom languaging, reducing learners' exposure to such forms. It is imaginable that in writing tasks up to a certain level the tracking of referents via Khayelitshan morphology in written englishing is legitimate and particular teaching tasks get developed that speak to the difficulties of navigating landscapes of different orders for reference tracking. With regard to spelling, the oversupply of standard orthographic norms Khayelitshan learners have to negotiate in early schooling needs to be considered in testing. For example the use of diphthongs within words – whether in complete accordance with the rules of SWE or not – should be considered a major step in the *sorting out* of the different orthographic conventions of SWX and SWE. How far these sorting processes are advanced becomes most visible in heterogeneous rather than homogenised writing, as the example of *sorting out* the spelling of 'I si' into 'I see' in 6.2.3 has shown.

These are just some pointers at what we can learn from Khayelitshan learners' heterogeneous writing. Large scale, survey-like studies could gather writing pieces where learners across the country are unrestricted in their linguistic choices. Do learners in other schools also decide to write heterogeneously in large numbers? What emergent englishing skills and struggles can be read from their writing? What tasks can be developed that speak to these learners' particular needs and skills? Where are the differences but also the similarities that are displayed in the linguistic heterogeneity elicited from different classroom spaces across the country? As a more differentiated picture of what constitutes relanguaging and englishing skills emerges, concrete suggestions can be made – supported by concrete illustrations – about how teaching and testing material could recognise and develop these skills.

If findings from this exploratory study can be substantiated I argue that heterogeneous writing tasks like the one analysed in chapter 6 can be used to test emergent englishing skills and that scales can be developed to make linguistic sorting practices visible and measurable for educational officials. This would, in my view, have a twofold effect:

On the one hand, stakeholders' – including South African parents' – comprehensible desire to ensure access to Standard English for learners would not be compromised and in fact be supported. On the other hand, the notion of what Standard English *is* or *has to be* would become more flexible as it would have to be questioned in the process of developing tasks that make it visible within linguistic heterogeneity. What Davila has called the discursively constructed “inevitability of “Standard” English” (Davila, 2016) in education and beyond is difficult to declare irrelevant or mistaken in a country like South Africa where access to what elites and state administrators recognise as this code majorly influences people's life trajectories. Access to higher education, to jobs and to life worlds beyond the township that many parents desire for their children intersect to a significant extent with this socially very real linguistic construct. I suggest that unsettling the common-sense assumption that Standard English can only be tested within its own confines without pushing for a complete ‘transcendence’ of linguistic fixity would be a viable compromise that would inevitably also unsettle the construct itself in a productive way. A more flexible and linguistically more adequate concept of what constitutes a standard language and different suggestions of how to test for it might be statist enough to allow administrators to see it and flexible enough to appreciate linguistic heterogeneity that lies at the heart of many South African language classrooms.

7.5 Outlook

On linguistics

I have argued that part of what made the experiment of this thesis possible was that I retained a certain naivety towards the discipline of linguistics. I therefore was not too deeply entangled in its established categories of sense-making and could provide a fresh perspective on the data (3.1). Nevertheless, the tools of the discipline have been invaluable in this endeavour. Even though linguistics is so entangled with the languageS ideology and with seeing like a state (2.1), a disentanglement and the development of new vocabulary is possible – as I have tried to show – without having to throw the baby (linguistics) out with the bathwater (the essentialised statist lens). Therefore, once we know better how to detect and unsettle the statist vision, all the findings of seminal work done with the descriptors that I refused to use in this

experiment must not be discarded but rather turned towards and engaged with from a critical but curious perspective. Then we can ask: How could an inchoative languaging-and-space paradigm profit from insights from translation studies or dialectology? What do we find when we are (a) tracing ‘train’ through townships or (b) looking for ‘loanwords’ and ‘borrowing’? What would a code-switching paper read like if relanguaged into languaging-vocabulary? How could our understanding of languaging in turn be enriched by findings from code-switching research if we disentangled them from the languageS ideology? And what would change for – but also what could be learned from – studies in the field of Second Language Acquisition if the notion of L1 would be replaced with the idea of unsorted spatial repertoires?

There is a rich repertoire of linguistics that – rather than being ‘transcended’ – can be handled and shaped to equip us with tools to illuminate the relationality of languaging and languageS without essentialising one or the other. So as much as radical leaps must be taken that break with established categories to develop new lenses, there is also a need to go back and look at old insights through such new lenses and see what answers can be found to the above questions and to many more that I could not address in this work.

On ‘mother-tongues’

Taking linguistic heterogeneity in Khayelitsha seriously does not only have implications for the teaching and testing of Standard English. Standard Xhosa, via which learners get tested in Grade 3, is just as much a statist repertoire in watchful adherence to which they have to sort out their Khayelitshan languaging so that they can xhosa. Accordingly we can hypothesise that the Xhosa classrooms in Khayelitshan primary schools also necessitate relanguaging to negotiate Khayelitshan languaging and Standard Xhosa. What constitutes the practice in these spaces? If relanguaging could be made visible there, this could have consequences for debates around ‘mother-tongue education’. In how far does this language policy model – often advertised as the panacea to South Africa’s educational problems – also force Khayelitshan learners to sort out a variety of their familiar language resources? Systematically investigating the tension between Khayelitshan languaging and Standard Xhosa this way has the potential to complexify debates around ‘mother-tongue education’ in productive ways.

On ‘centres’ and ‘peripheries’

There is a tendency in South African discourse around education to construct township (and in fact all lower-quintile schools) as linguistically inherently different from for example ex-model C schools (see [1.5](#)). My hypothesis to be tested by future research is that if we really stop linguistically seeing like a state we can probably find relanguaging and a didactics of explicitness in spaces that are not known for linguistic heterogeneity in teacher talk – like ex-model C school classrooms for example. But because there the relanguaging mechanism would produce combinations of forms that comply with the conflation of linguistic features and languageS ([2.1.2](#)), no statist boundaries between languageS would be violated. At the moment what surfaces through the statist lens in these spaces is not code-switching or translanguaging but *rephrasing, explaining* or *annotating* – all no threat to the linguistic ordering principles of the nation state and therefore neither seen as deficient nor as subversive practices. But when the very same relanguaging mechanism in Khayelitsha produces combinations of forms that *do* violate the conflation of linguistic features and languageS that is constitutive of statist homogenisation and categorisation, then teachers are seen as ‘code-switching’ or ‘translanguaging’. Accordingly, it is township teachers who get urged officially to “reduce the amount of code-switching” (Western Cape Government, 2017), while what ex-model C school teachers do with language is deemed fine.

My tentative argument at this point is that classroom repertoires get ordered via relanguaging far beyond Khayelitsha and that it is the power of the statist lens that erases this common linguistic sorting mechanism. Through this lens, what township teachers do with language looks different from – and in fact less valuable than – what teachers in more affluent schools might be doing just as well. Positing heterogeneity as the norm and training the spotlight on the linguistic sorting mechanism, as I have tried to do in this work, provides an alternative perspective. If further substantiated and refined, this new lens and the relanguaging model might not only help to systematically unsettle the binary between linguistic hetero- and homogeneity but also that between township and ex-model C schools and, by extension, that between constructed ‘centres’ and ‘peripheries’ in (South African) education. This is then a call to look for relanguaging in educational spaces that currently seem to be linguistically homogeneous and sorted – because they might not be.

Beyond linguistics, education and South Africa

It seems that the more inclusive conceptualisations of homogenised linguistic fixity and fluid, unsorted heterogeneity I propose here have relevance beyond education and beyond South Africa. Linguistic heterogeneity and diversity is increasing globally but stands in tension with simultaneously intensifying nationalist tendencies pushing for a fixation rather than a transcendence of borders and boundaries. Standardised language tests are becoming more rather than less important and the fixity of standard languages intensifies. Reflections presented here about unsettling and questioning standards without doing away with them – making fixity more flexible so to speak – and about testing for languages within languaging, could therefore be important far beyond Khayelitsha. One of the questions that emerges from this inquiry is: How much linguistic homogeneity and fixity does the state need so that it can still see? And what can linguists, educational administrators and policy makers in different spaces globally learn in this regard from South African township teachers and learners?

REFERENCES

- Alexander, N. (2009). Mother tongue based bilingual education in Africa: A cultural and intellectual imperative. In I. Gogolin & U. Neumann (Eds.), *Streitfall Zweisprachigkeit – The bilingualism controversy* (pp. 199–214). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*: Verso Books.
- Anthonissen, C. (2009). Bilingualism and language shift in Western Cape communities. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus*, 38, 61–76.
- Auer, P. (1999). From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 3(4), 309–332.
- Auer, P., & Muhamedova, R. (2005). ‘Embedded language’ and ‘matrix language’ in insertional language mixing: Some problematic cases. *Rivista di Linguistica*, 17(1), 35–54.
- Ayliff, J. (1846). *A vocabulary of the Kaffir language*. London: Wesleyan Mission House.

- Ayres, L. (2008). Semi-structured interview. In L. M. Given (Ed.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (pp. 810–811). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Baker, P., de Vos, J., Edwards, M., Ralenala, M., & Swanepoel, G. (2012). *Platinum English First Additional Language: Grade 5* (1st ed.). Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.
- Baker, P., Edwards, M., Ralenala, M., Swanepoel, G., & Townsend, B. (2012). *Platinum English First Additional Language: Grade 4* (1st ed.). Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.
- Banda, F. (2003). A survey of literacy practices in Black and Coloured communities in South Africa: Towards a pedagogy of multiliteracies. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 16(2), 106–129.
- Banda, F. (2009). Critical perspectives on language planning and policy in Africa: Accounting for the notion of multilingualism. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus*, 38, 1–11.
- Banda, F. (2018). Translanguaging and English-African language mother tongues as linguistic dispensation in teaching and learning in a black township school in Cape Town. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 19(2), 198–217.
- Baynham, M., & Lee, T.-K. (2019). *Translation and translanguaging*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Beck, R. M. (2003). Perceptions of gender in Swahili language and society. In H. Bussmann & M. Hellinger (Eds.), *Gender across languages: The linguistic representation of women and men* (Vol. 3, pp. 311–337). Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.
- Beck, R. M. (2010). Urban languages in Africa. *Africa Spectrum*, 45(3), 11–41.
- Beck, R. M. (2015). Schweigen als Praxis - Praktiken des Schweigens. In M. Dobstadt, C. Fandrych, & U. R. Riedner (Eds.), *Linguistik und Kulturwissenschaft: Zu ihrem Verhältnis aus der Perspektive des Faches Deutsch als Fremd- und Zweitsprache und anderer Disziplinen* (pp. 251–271). Peter Lang Edition.
- Beck, R. M. (2016). Tusidanganyane - Let's not fool ourselves! Knowledge production and HIV prevention in Nairobi (Kenya). *Sociolinguistic Studies*, 10(1/2), 15–44.
- Beck, R. M. (2018). Language as apparatus: Entanglements of language, culture and territory and the invention of nation and ethnicity. *Postcolonial Studies*, 21(2), 231–253.
- Bennie, J. (1826). *A systematic vocabulary of the Kaffrarian language*: Lovedale Press.
- Blackledge, A., & Creese, A. (2017). Translanguaging and the body. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 14(3), 250–268.

- Blommaert, J. (2007). On scope and depth in linguistic ethnography. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11(5), 682–688.
- Blommaert, J. (2008). Artefactual ideologies and the textual production of African languages. *Language & Communication*, 28(4), 291–307.
- Blommaert, J. (2013). Writing as a sociolinguistic object. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 17(4), 440–459.
- Blommaert, J., & Backus, A. (2013). Superdiverse repertoires and the individual. In I. de Saint-Georges & J.-J. Weber (Eds.), *Multilingualism and multimodality: Current challenges for educational studies* (pp. 11–32). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Blommaert, J., Muyliaert, N., Huysmans, M., & Dyers, C. (2005). Peripheral normativity: Literacy and the production of locality in a South African township school. *Linguistics and Education*, 16(4), 378–403.
- Böhm, A. (2003). Theoretisches Codieren: Textanalyse in der Grounded Theory. In U. Flick, E. von Kardorff, & I. Steinke (Eds.), *Qualitative Forschung: Ein Handbuch* (pp. 475–487). Reinbeck: Rohwolt.
- Brereton Mathiesen, K. (2000). *Learning South African Languages: The historical origins of Xhosa and the usage to which the written form of the language was put c. 1770-1935* (MA thesis). University of Cape Town, South Africa.
- Brock-Utne, B., Desai, Z., & Qorro, M. A. S. (2003). *Language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA)*. Dar es Salaam: E & D Limited.
- Bua-Lit Collective (2018). How are we failing our children? Reconceptualizing language and literacy education. Retrieved from www.bua-lit.org.za
- Busch, B. (2012). The linguistic repertoire revisited. *Applied Linguistics*, 33(5), 1–22.
- Calderhead, J. (1981). Stimulated recall: A method for research on teaching. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 51(2), 211–217.
- Canagarajah, A. S. (2006). The place of world Englishes in composition: Pluralization continued. *College Composition and Communication*, 57(4), 586–619.
- Canagarajah, A. S. (2011). Translanguaging in the classroom: Emerging issues for research and pedagogy. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 2, 1–28.
- Canagarajah, A. S. (2013). Negotiating translingual literacy: An enactment. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 48(1), 40–67.
- Canagarajah, A. S. (2015). Negotiating mobile codes and literacies at the contact zone: Another perspective on South African township schools. In C. Stroud & M. Prinsloo (Eds.), *Language, literacy and diversity: Moving words* (pp. 34–54). New York: Routledge.
- Canagarajah, A. S. (2018). Translingual practice as spatial repertoires: Expanding the paradigm beyond structuralist orientations. *Applied Linguistics*, 39(1), 31–54.

- Casale, D., & Posel, D. (2011). English language proficiency and earnings in a developing country: The case of South Africa. *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 40(4), 385–393.
- Celic, C., & Seltzer, K. (2011). *Translanguaging: A CUNY-NYSIEB Guide for Educators*. New York: CUNY-NYSIEB. Retrieved from www.cuny-nysieb.org
- Chick, J. K. (1996). Safe-talk: Collusion in apartheid education. In H. Coleman (Ed.), *Society and the language classroom* (pp. 21–39). Cambridge University Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Christie, P. (1995). Transition tricks? Policy models for school desegregation in South Africa, 1990–94. *Journal of Education Policy*, 10(1), 45–55.
- Christie, P., & McKinney, C. (2017). Decoloniality and "Model C" schools: Ethos, language and the protests of 2016. *Education as Change*, 21(3), 160–180.
- Collins, J., & Krause, L.-S. (2019). Register processes in contemporary South African schools: Dialectics of fixity and fluidity. In J. Jaspers & L. M. Madsen (Eds.), *Critical perspectives on linguistic fixity and fluidity: Linguagised lives* (pp. 241–265). New York: Routledge.
- Comrie, B. (1999). Reference-tracking: Description and explanation. *STUF-Language Typology and Universals*, 52(3–4), 335–346.
- Contini-Morava, E. (2002). (What) do noun class markers mean? In W. Reid, R. Otheguy, & N. Stern (Eds.), *Signal, meaning, and message: Perspectives on sign-based linguistics* (pp. 3–64). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Contini-Morava, E. (2008). Human relationship terms, discourse prominence, and asymmetrical animacy in Swahili. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics*, 29(2), 127–171.
- Couldry, N. (2009). Rethinking the politics of voice: Commentary. *Continuum*, 23(4), 579–582.
- Creese, A. (2010). Linguistic ethnography. In L. Litosseliti (Ed.), *Research methods in linguistics* (pp. 138–154). London: Continuum.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(1), 103–115.
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Davila, B. (2016). The inevitability of “standard” English: Discursive constructions of standard language ideologies. *Written Communication*, 33(2), 127–148.
- De Certeau, M. (1984). *The practice of everyday life* (Vol. 1). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- De Certeau, M. (1985). Practices of space. In M. Blonsky (Ed.), *On signs* (pp. 122–145). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

- De Klerk, V. (2003). Towards a norm in South African Englishes: The case for Xhosa English. *World Englishes*, 22(4), 463–481.
- De Klerk, V. (2006). The features of ‘teacher talk’ in a corpus-based study of Xhosa English. *Language Matters*, 37(2), 125–140.
- De Los Ríos, C. V., & Seltzer, K. (2017). Translanguaging, coloniality, and English classrooms: An exploration of two bicoastal urban classrooms. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 52(1), 55–76. Retrieved from <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0hb749xp>
- Dempsey, N. P. (2010). Stimulated recall interviews in ethnography. *Qualitative Sociology*, 33(3), 349–367.
- Demuth, K. (2000). Bantu noun class systems: Loan word and acquisition evidence of semantic productivity. In G. Senft & S. C. Levinson (Eds.), *Systems of nominal classification* (pp. 270–292). Cambridge University Press.
- Department of Basic Education (2011). *Curriculum and assessment policy statement (CAPS): Intermediate Phase, First Additional Language*. Pretoria.
- Department of Education (2003). *Systemic Evaluation Foundation Phase Mainstream: National Report*. Pretoria.
- Department of Education (2017). *Implementation evaluation of the National Curriculum Statement Grade R to 12: Focusing on the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS)*. Pretoria.
- Deppermann, A. (2001). *Gespräche analysieren*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Deumert, A. (2010). *Klk cc... Supporting indigenous literacies in the digital space* (Cape Town: Linguistics). Cape Town. Retrieved from University of Cape Town website: https://m4lit.files.wordpress.com/2010/03/m4lit_indigenous_literacies_adeumert_2010.pdf
- Deumert, A. (2013). Xhosa in town (revisited) – space, place and language. *International Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 222, 51–75.
- Ditsele, T. (2014). Why not use Sepitori to enrich the vocabularies of Setswana and Sepedi? *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 32(2), 215–228.
- Dowling, T. (2010). ‘Akuchanywa apha please’ No peeing here please: The language of signage in Cape Town. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 30(2), 192–208.
- Dowling, T. (2011). ‘Stressed and sexy’: Lexical borrowing in Cape Town Xhosa. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 8(4), 345–366.
- Dowling, T., & Grier, L. (2015). “Mnandi-licious!” trends in African language usage in South African television advertising. *Social Dynamics*, 41(3), 555–575.

- Dowling, T., & Krause, L.-S. (2018). 'Ndifuna imeaning yakhe': Translingual morphology in English teaching in a South African township classroom. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 1–21.
- Drew, P. (2004). Conversation analysis. In K. L. Fitch & R. E. Sanders (Eds.), *Handbook of language and social interaction* (pp. 71–102). New York: Psychology Press.
- Errington, J. (2008). *Linguistics in a colonial world: A story of language, meaning, and power* (1st ed.). Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Fataar, A. (2009). Schooling subjectivities across the post-apartheid city. *Africa education review*, 6(1), 1–18.
- Ferguson, G. (2003). Classroom code-switching in post-colonial contexts: Functions, attitudes and policies. *AILA Review*, 16(1), 38–51.
- Ferguson, G. (2009). What next? Towards an agenda for classroom codeswitching research. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 12(2), 231–241.
- Finlayson, R., Calteaux, K., & Myers-Scotton, C. (1998). Orderly mixing and accommodation in South African codeswitching. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 2(3), 395–420.
- Finlayson, R., & Madiba, M. (2002). The intellectualisation of the indigenous languages of South Africa: Challenges and prospects. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 3(1), 40–61.
- Finlayson, R., & Slabbert, S. (1997). "We just mix": Code switching in a South African township. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 125(1), 65–98.
- Frith, A. (n.d.). Census 2011: Khayelitsha. Retrieved from <https://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/199038>
- Futuse, L. (2018). *An examination of how loanwords in a corpus of spoken and written contemporary isiXhosa are incorporated into the noun class system of isiXhosa* (MA thesis). University of Cape Town, South Africa.
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- García, O., & Leiva, C. (2014). Theorizing and enacting translanguaging for social justice. In A. Blackledge & A. Creese (Eds.), *Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy* (pp. 199–216). Dordrecht: Springer.
- García, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Goodwin, C., & Heritage, J. (1990). Conversation analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 19(1), 283–307.

- Gough, D. H. (1993). A change of mood: Towards a re-analysis of the Dokean classification. In R. K. Herbert (Ed.), *Not with one mouth: Continuity and change in Southern African language studies* (pp. 35–52). Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Graves, M. F., August, D., & Mancilla-Martinez, J. (2013). *Teaching vocabulary to English language learners. Language and literacy series*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Gumede, V., & Biyase, M. (2016). Educational reforms and curriculum transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. *Environmental Economics*, 7(2), 69–76.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1964). Linguistic and social interaction in two communities. *American anthropologist*, 66(6), 137–153.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1965). Linguistic repertoires, grammars and second language instruction. In C. W. Kreidler (Ed.), *Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics. Report of the sixteenth annual roundtable meeting on linguistics and language studies* (pp. 81–90). Washington D.C: Georgetown University Press.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1977). The sociolinguistic significance of conversational code-switching. *RELC journal*, 8(2), 1–34.
- Guzula, X. (2018). Moving beyond artificial linguistic binaries in the education of African Language speaking children: A case for simultaneous biliteracy development. *Perspectives in Education*, 36(2), 1–14.
- Guzula, X., McKinney, C., & Tyler, R. (2016). Linguaging-for-learning: Legitimising translanguaging and enabling multimodal practices in third spaces. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 34(3), 211–226.
- Harries, P. (1988). The roots of ethnicity: Discourse and the politics of language construction in South-East Africa. *African Affairs*, 87(346), 25–52.
- Haspelmath, M., König, E., Oesterreicher, W., & Raible, W. (Eds.). (2001). *Language typology and language universals* (Vol. 2). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Heath, S. B., & Street, B. V. (2008). *On ethnography: Approaches to language and literacy research*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Heller, M. (2007). *Bilingualism: A social approach*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Higgins, C. (2017). Space, place, and language. In A. S. Canagarajah (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of migration and language* (pp. 102–116). London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Horner, B., Lu, M., Royster, J. J., & Trimbur, J. (2011). Language difference in writing: Toward a translingual approach. *College English*, 73(3), 303–321.
- Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. In J. B. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: Selected readings* (pp. 269–293). Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

- Jacobs, W. (2014). *Migration patterns and migrant characteristics in the Western Cape through a differential urbanisation lens* (MA thesis). University of Stellenbosch, South Africa.
- Jaspers, J. (2019). Authority and morality in advocating heteroglossia. *Language, Culture and Society*, 1(1), 83–105.
- Jaspers, J., & Madsen, L. M. (2019). Fixity and fluidity in sociolinguistic theory and practice. In J. Jaspers & L. M. Madsen (Eds.), *Critical perspectives on linguistic fixity and fluidity: Linguagised lives* (pp. 1–26). New York: Routledge.
- Jewitt, C., Bezemer, J., & O'Halloran, K. (2016). *Introducing multimodality* (1st ed.). London: Routledge.
- Jørgensen, J. N. (2008). Polylingual languaging around and among children and adolescents. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 5(3), 161–176.
- Jørgensen, J. N., Karrebæk, M. S., Madsen, L. M., & Møller, J. S. (2011). Polylinguaging in superdiversity. *Diversities*, 2, 23–37.
- Kapp, R. (2004). 'Reading on the line': An analysis of literacy practices in ESL classes in a South African township school. *Language and Education*, 18(3), 246–263.
- Kapp, R. (2006). Discourses of English and literacy in a Western Cape township school. In L. Thesen & E. van Pletzen (Eds.), *Academic literacy and the languages of change* (pp. 30–52). London, New York: Continuum.
- Katamba, F. (2003). Bantu nominal morphology. In D. Nurse & G. Philippson (Eds.), *The Bantu languages* (pp. 103–120). London, New York: Routledge.
- Kießling, R., & Mous, M. (2004). Urban youth languages in Africa. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 46(3), 303–341.
- Koopman, A. (1999). *Zulu language change*. Howick: Brevitas.
- Krause, L.-S. (2014). *"Xhosa is my identity English is my future": Complexities around language values and practices at a South African township school* (MA thesis). University of Leipzig, Germany.
- Krause, L.-S., & Prinsloo, M. (2016). Translanguaging in a township primary school: Policy and practice. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 34(4), 347–357.
- Kreutzer, T. (2009). *Generation mobile: Online and digital media usage on mobile phones among low-income urban youth in South Africa*. Retrieved from <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/58128d055016e1a55790b035/t/58128fc1c534a556a5a95518/1477611459471/MobileOnlineMedia-SurveyResults-2009.pdf>
- Kropf, A. (1915). *Kafir-English dictionary* (2nd ed.). South Africa: Lovedale Mission Press.
- Krugel, R., & Fourie, E. (2014). Concerns for the language skills of South African learners and their teachers. *International Journal of Educational Sciences*, 7(1), 219–228.

- Kusters, A., Spotti, M., Swanwick, R., & Tapio, E. (2017). Beyond languages, beyond modalities: Transforming the study of semiotic repertoires. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 14(3), 219–232.
- Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Law, J. (2004). *After method: Mess in social science research*. Abington: Routledge.
- LCCI Examinations Board. (n.d.). *English Language Skills Assessment: Listening / reading test*. Information pack. Retrieved from <https://www.lccieb-germany.com/documents/ELSAInfoPack.pdf>
- Lemanski, C. (2008). Houses without community: Problems of community (in) capacity in Cape Town, South Africa. *Environment and Urbanization*, 20(2), 393–410.
- Lewis, G., Jones, B., & Baker, C. (2012). Translanguaging: Origins and development from school to street and beyond. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 18(7), 641–654.
- Lin, A. (2013). Classroom code-switching: Three decades of research. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 4(1), 195–218.
- Lodico, M. G., Spaulding, D. T., & Voegtle, K. (2006). *Methods in educational research: From theory to practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Lombard, B. J.J. (2007). Reasons why educator-parents based at township schools transfer their own children from township schools to former Model C schools. *Education as Change*, 11(1), 43–57.
- Mabule, D. R. (2015). What is this? Is it code switching, code mixing or language alternating? *Journal of Educational and Social Research*, 5(1), 339–350.
- MacSwan, J. (2005). Codeswitching and generative grammar: A critique of the MLF model and some remarks on “modified minimalism”. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 8(1), 1–22.
- Madiba, M. (2014). Promoting concept literacy through multilingual glossaries: A translanguaging approach. *Multilingual Teaching and Learning in Higher Education in South Africa*, 68–87.
- Madsen, L. M. (2018). Linguistic ethnography: Studying English language, cultures and practices. In P. Seargent, A. Hewings, & S. Pihlaja (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of English Language Studies* (pp. 392–405). Abington, New York: Routledge.
- Maile, S. (2004). School choice in South Africa. *Education and Urban Society*, 37(1), 94–116.
- Makalela, L. (2013). Translanguaging in kasi-taal: Rethinking old language boundaries for new language planning. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus*, 42, 111–125.

- Makalela, L. (2016). Ubuntu translanguaging: An alternative framework for complex multilingual encounters. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 34(3), 187–196.
- Makalela, L. (2018). Teaching African languages the ubuntu way: The effects of translanguaging among pre-service teachers in South Africa. In P. van Avermaet, S. Slembrouck, K. van Gorp, S. Sierens, & K. Maryns (Eds.), *The multilingual edge of education* (pp. 261–282). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Makoni, S., & Pennycook, A. (Eds.). (2007a). *Disinventing and reconstituting languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Makoni, S., & Pennycook, A. (2007b). Disinventing and reconstituting languages. In S. Makoni & A. Pennycook (Eds.), *Disinventing and reconstituting languages* (pp. 1–41). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Matlock, T., & Heredia, R. R. (2002). Understanding phrasal verbs in monolinguals and bilinguals. *Advances in psychology*, 134, 251–274.
- McIntyre, D. J. (1980). Teacher evaluation and the observer effect. *NASSP Bulletin*, 64(434), 36–40.
- McKinney, C., Carrim, H., Marshall, A., & Layton, L. (2015). What counts as language in South African schooling? Monoglossic ideologies and children's participation. *AILA Review*, 28(1), 103–126.
- Mesthrie, R. (2005). Putting back the horse before the cart: The “spelling form” fallacy in Second Language Acquisition studies, with special reference to the treatment of unstressed vowels in Black South African English. *English World-Wide*, 26(2), 127–151.
- Mesthrie, R., & Hurst, E. (2013). Slang registers, code-switching and restructured urban varieties in South Africa: An analytic overview of tsotsitaals with special reference to the Cape Town variety. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 28(1), 103–130.
- Michael-Luna, S., & Canagarajah, A. S. (2007). Multilingual academic literacies: Pedagogical foundations for code meshing in primary and higher education. *Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 4(1), 55–77.
- Milroy, J. (1999). The consequences of standardisation in descriptive linguistics. In T. Bex & R. J. Watts (Eds.), *Standard English: The widening debate* (pp. 16–39). London, New York: Routledge.
- Milroy, J. (2001). Language ideologies and the consequences of standardization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 5(4), 530–555.
- Morrison, M. E. (2018). Beyond derivation: Creative use of noun class prefixation for both semantic and reference tracking purposes. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 123, 38–56.
- Msila, V. (2009). School choice and intra-township migration: Black parents scrambling for quality education in South Africa. *Journal of Education*, 46, 81–98.

- Myers-Scotton, C. (1997). *Duelling languages: Grammatical structure in codeswitching*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ndimande, B. S. (2012). Race and resources: Black parents' perspectives on post-apartheid South African schools. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 15(4), 525–544.
- Nel, N., & Müller, H. (2010). The impact of teachers' limited English proficiency on English second language learners in South African schools. *South African Journal of Education*, 30, 635–650.
- Ngcobo, M. (2013). Loan words classification in isiZulu: The need for a sociolinguistic approach. *Language Matters*, 44(1), 21–38.
- Nkosi, M. (2016, January 29). Is South Africa's education system really 'in crisis'? *BBC News*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35427853>
- Nurse, D. (2003). Aspect and tense in Bantu languages. In D. Nurse & G. Philippson (Eds.), *The Bantu languages* (Vol. 4, pp. 90–102). London, New York: Routledge.
- Nurse, D., & Philippson, G. (Eds.). (2003). *The Bantu languages* (Vol. 4). London, New York: Routledge.
- Oosthuysen, J. C. (2015). Extricating the description of the grammar of isiXhosa from a Eurocentric approach. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 35(1), 83–92.
- Otheguy, R., García, O., & Reid, W. (2015). Clarifying translanguaging and deconstructing named languages: A perspective from linguistics. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 6(3), 281–307.
- Otsuji, E., & Pennycook, A. (2010). Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 7(3), 240–254.
- Ouane, A., & Glanz, C. (Eds.). (2011). *Optimising learning, education and publishing in Africa: The language factor*. A review and analysis of theory and practice in mother-tongue and bilingual education in Sub-Saharan Africa. New York: Mark Batty Publisher. Retrieved from <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000212602>
- Pahl, H. W., Burns-Ncamashe, S. M., & Ntusi, D. M. (1971). *IsiXhosa: Sebanga lematriki*. Johannesburg: Bona Press.
- Pahl, H. W., Ntusi, D. M., & Burns-Ncamashe, S. M. (1978). *IsiXhosa* (2nd Revised Edition). King William's Town: Thandapers.
- Pahl, H. W., Pienaar, A. M., & Ndungane, T. A. (Eds.). (1989). *The greater dictionary of Xhosa: Q to Z*. Alice: University of Fort Hare.
- Pennycook, A. (2010). *Language as a local practice* (1st ed.). Abington: Routledge.
- Pennycook, A. (2014). Principled polycentrism and resourceful speakers. *The Journal of ASIA TEFL*, 11(4), 1–19.
- Pennycook, A., & Otsuji, E. (2015). *Metrolingualism: Language in the city*. London, New York: Routledge.

- Poplack, S. (1988). Contrasting patterns of code-switching in two communities. In M. Heller (Ed.), *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives* (pp. 215–244). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Prinsloo, M., & Krause, L.-S. (2019a). Testing practice in a Southern school. In D. Bloome, M. L. Castanheira, C. Leung, & J. Rowsell (Eds.), *Re-theorizing literacy practices: Complex social and cultural contexts* (pp. 154–167). New York: Routledge.
- Prinsloo, M., & Krause, L.-S. (2019b). Translanguaging, place and complexity. *Language and Education*, 1–16.
- Probyn, M. (2001). Teachers voices: Teachers reflections on learning and teaching through the medium of English as an additional language in South Africa. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 4(4), 249–266.
- Probyn, M. (2009). ‘Smuggling the vernacular into the classroom’: Conflicts and tensions in classroom codeswitching in township/rural schools in South Africa. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 12(2), 123–136.
- Probyn, M. (2015). Pedagogical translanguaging: Bridging discourses in South African science classrooms. *Language and Education*, 29(3), 218–234.
- Psathas, G. (1994). *Conversation analysis: The study of talk-in-interaction*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Rampton, B. (2017). Interactional sociolinguistics. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*. (Paper 175), 1–15.
- Rampton, B., Tusting, K., Maybin, J., Barwell, R., Creese, A., & Lytra, V. (2004). UK linguistic ethnography: A discussion paper. *Coordinating Committee UK Linguistic Ethnography Forum*. Retrieved from www.ling-ethnog.org.uk
- Reckwitz, A. (2002). Toward a theory of social practices: A development in culturalist theorizing. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5(2), 243–263.
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., McNaughton Nicholls, C., & Ormston, R. (2013). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Sabino, R. (2018). *Languaging without languages: Beyond metro-, multi-, poly-, pluri-and translanguaging*. Leiden: Brill.
- Saragih, H. F. S. (2008). *The prefix re-: A study on its morphology and meanings* (BA thesis). Sanata Dharma University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
- Schatzki, T. R. (2005). Practice mind-ed orders. In T. R. Schatzki, K. Knorr Cetina, & E. von Savigny (Eds.), *The practice turn in contemporary theory* (pp. 50–63). London: Routledge.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1996). Confirming allusions: Toward an empirical account of action. *American journal of sociology*, 104, 161–216.
- Schegloff, E. A., Koshik, I., Jacoby, S., & Olsher, D. (2002). 1. Conversation analysis and applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 22, 3–31.

- Schegloff, E. A., & Sacks, H. (1973). Opening up closings. *Semiotica*, 8(4), 289–327.
- Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing like a state: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.
- Seabe, D. S. (2014). *Understanding volunteering in South Africa: A mixed methods approach* (MA thesis). University of Stellenbosch, South Africa.
- Seedhouse, P. (2005). Conversation analysis and language learning. *Language teaching*, 38(4), 165–187.
- Setati, M. (2005). Researching teaching and learning in school from "with" or "on" teachers to "with" and "on" teachers: Conversations. *Perspectives in Education*, 23(1), 91–101.
- Setati, M., Adler, J., Reed, Y., & Bapoo, A. (2002). Incomplete journeys: Code-switching and other language practices in mathematics, science and English language classrooms in South Africa. *Language and Education*, 16(2), 128–149.
- Silverstein, M. (1998). Contemporary transformations of local linguistic communities. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 27, 401–426.
- Silverstein, M. (2010). Society, polity, and language community: An enlightenment trinity in anthropological perspective. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 9(3), 339–363.
- Silverstein, M. (2014). How language communities intersect: Is “superdiversity” an incremental or transformative condition? *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*. (Paper 107), 1–36.
- Slabbert, S., & Finlayson, R. (2002). Code-switching in South African townships. *Language in South Africa*, 235–257.
- Streeck, J. (2009). *Gesturecraft: The manufacture of meaning*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Stroud, C., & Mpendukana, S. (2009). Towards a material ethnography of linguistic landscape: Multilingualism, mobility and space in a South African township. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 13(3), 363–386.
- Ten Have, P. (1999). *Doing conversation analysis: A practical guide*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Van der Berg, S., & Spaul, N. (2017, July 13). SA education: The poorest choice. *Mail & Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://mg.co.za/article/2011-04-08-sa-education-the-poorest-choice/>
- Velasco, P., & García, O. (2014). Translanguaging and the writing of bilingual learners. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 37(1), 6–23.
- Velghe, F. (2014). ‘I wanna go in the phone’: Literacy acquisition, informal learning processes, ‘voice’ and mobile phone appropriation in a South African township. *Ethnography and Education*, 9(1), 111–126.

- Western Cape Government (2017). Curriculum FET minute: DCF 0016/2017 Retention of language compensation until 2022. Retrieved from https://wcedonline.westerncape.gov.za/circulars/minutes17/CMminutes/edcf16_17.html
- Wildsmith-Cromarty, R. (2008). Can academic/scientific discourse really be translated across English and African languages? *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 26(1), 147–169.
- Wildsmith-Cromarty, R. (2012). Reflections on a research initiative aimed at enhancing the role of African languages in education in South Africa. *Journal for Language Teaching= Ijenali Yekufundzisa Lulwimi= Tydskrif vir Taalonderrig*, 46(2), 157–170.
- Williams, C. (1996). Secondary education: Teaching in the bilingual situation. In C. Williams, G. Lewis, & C. Baker (Eds.), *The language policy: Taking stock*. Llangefni: CAI Language Studies Centre.
- Willig, C. (2014). Interpretation and analysis. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative data analysis* (pp. 136–150). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Woltersberger, M. (2003). L1 to L2 writing process and strategy transfer: A look at lower proficiency writers. *The Electronic Journal for English as a Second Language (TESL EJ)*, 7(2), 1–12.
- Zentella, A. C. (1981). Tá bien, you could answer me en cualquier idioma: Puerto Rican codeswitching in bilingual classrooms. *Latino Language and Communicative Behavior*, 6, 109–132.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Glossing conventions

| | | | |
|---------------|------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1 – 15 | noun classes | LOC | locative |
| 1S | first person singular | NEG | negative |
| 2S | second person singular | NEGSM | negative subject marker |
| 1Pl | first person plural | NEUT | neuter |
| 2Pl | second person plural | NPx | nominal prefix |
| ABS | absolute pronoun | OM | object marker |
| ANT | anterior | PASS | passive marker |
| ASS | associative | PERF | perfect |
| CAUS | causative | PERS | persistive |
| COP | copula | POSS | possessive |
| COMP | completive | POSSSTEM | possessive stem |
| COND | conditional | PPx | pronominal prefix |
| DEM | demonstrative | PREP | preposition |
| E | (verbal) extension | PRES | present |
| FUT | future | PRO | pronoun |
| FV | final vowel | REL | relative (pronoun) |
| HORT | hortative | SM | subject marker |
| INFIN | infinitive | SUBJ | subjunctive |
| INSTR | instrumental | T(A) | tense (aspect) |
| INTER | interrogative | VR | verb root |

Appendix B: Noun class agreement morphology (positive and negative)

Positive noun class table

| Noun Class | Nominal Prefix (NPx) | Copulative Concord (COP) | Subject Marker (SM) | Possessive Concord (POSS) | Possessive Stem (POSSSTEM) | Object Marker (OM) |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1a | u- | ngu- | u- | wa- | -khe | -m- |
| 2a | oo- | nga- | ba- | ba- | -bo | -ba- |
| 1 | um- | ngu- | u- | wa- | -khe | -m- |
| 2 | aba- | nga- | ba- | ba- | -bo | -ba- |
| 3 | um- | ngu- | u- | wa- | -wo | -wu- |
| 4 | imi- | yi- | i- | ya- | -yo | -yi- |
| 5 | ili-/i- | li- | li- | la- | -lo | -li- |
| 6 | ama- | nga- | a- | a- | -wo | -wa- |
| 7 | isi-/is- | si- | si- | sa- | -so | -si- |
| 8 | izi-/iz- | zi- | zi- | za- | -zo | -zi- |
| 9 | in-/i- | yi- | i- | ya- | -yo | -yi- |
| 10 | izin-/ii- | zi- | zi- | za- | -zo | -zi- |
| 11 | ulu- / ul- / ulw- / u- | lu- | lu- | lwa- | -lo | -lu- |
| 14 | ubu- / ub- / u- | bu- | bu- | ba- | -bo | -bu- |
| 15 | uku- / uk- / ukw- | ku- | ku- | kwa- | -ko | -ku- |

Negative noun class table

| Noun Class | | | Negative Copulative Concord (NEGCOP) | Negative Subject Marker (NEGSM) | | | |
|-------------------|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|
| 1a | | | asingo- | aka- | | | |
| 2a | | | asingo- | aba- | | | |
| 1 | | | asingo- | awu- | | | |
| 2 | | | asingo- | aba- | | | |
| 3 | | | asingo- | awu- | | | |
| 4 | | | asiyo- | ayi- | | | |
| 5 | | | asilo- | ali- | | | |
| 6 | | | asingo- | awa- | | | |
| 7 | | | asiso- | asi- | | | |
| 8 | | | asizo- | azi- | | | |
| 9 | | | asiyo- | ayi- | | | |
| 10 | | | asizo- | azi- | | | |
| 11 | | | asilo- | alu- | | | |
| 14 | | | asibo- | abu- | | | |
| 15 | | | asiko- | aku- | | | |

Appendix C: Lists of lesson transcripts and interviews

List of lesson transcripts

| Lesson Transcripts | Lesson Date | Grade |
|---|--------------------|--------------|
| A B C D E F | 16.05.2016 | 5 |
| G H | 08.02.2016 | 4 |
| I J K L M N | 11.05.2016 | 5 |
| O | 30.05.2016 | 5 |
| Lessons without full transcripts but with short excerpts quoted: | | |
| | 01.02.2016 | 4 |
| | 18.05.2016 | 5 |
| | 03.02.2016 | 6 |
| | 11.04.2016 | 7 |
| | 20.04.2016 | 5 |

List of interviews

| Teacher in Interview | Interview Excerpt | Interview Date |
|-----------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| Grade 5 | a b c d e i j + short citations throughout | 14.09.2016 |
| Grade 4 | f g h + short citations throughout | 19.05.2016 |
| Grade 6/7 | short citations throughout | 12.09.2016 |

List of main writing pieces discussed in chapter 6

| Writing Piece | Grade |
|---|--------------|
| Example A Greaming abut sweeming in a betch | 5 |
| Example B I see the child engqengqe ngomqolo | 6 |
| Example C A tale of vuking, tshoning and swimming | 6 |
| short citations of various other pieces throughout | |

Appendix D: Table of relanguaging circles

| | |
|---|-----|
| Circle I – ‘sorting out’ | 50 |
| Circle II – ‘bringing together’ | 52 |
| Circle III - Two directions of relanguaging | 53 |
| Circle IV | 86 |
| Circle V | 95 |
| Circle VI..... | 102 |
| Circle VII..... | 135 |
| Circle VIII | 140 |
| Circle IX..... | 144 |
| Circle X | 151 |
| Circle XI..... | 153 |
| Circle XII..... | 168 |
| Circle XIII | 190 |
| Circle XIV | 192 |
| Circle XV | 203 |
| Circle XVI..... | 217 |

Appendix E: Excerpt from Formal Assessment Task Grade5



**GRADE 5
ENGLISH
FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE
TERM TWO
FORMAL ASSESSMENT TASK (FAT) 3**

Name: _____

Class: _____ Date: _____

School: _____ Teacher: _____

**PLEASE NOTE: Teachers are requested to review the contents of this
FAT prior to implementation.**

| FAT | Activity | Learner's mark | Learner's % | % |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| Activity 1 | Listens to and speaks about text. | | | 15% |
| Activity 2 | Reads aloud | | | 10% |
| Activity 3 | Language Structure & Conventions | | | 15% |
| Activity 4 | Reading comprehension | | | 20% |
| Activity 5 | Reflects on stories/texts | | | 10% |
| Activity 6 | Writing | | | 30% |
| TOTAL | | | | 100% |

Activity 1.1 Listening & Speaking (15%)

Instructions:

Listen as your teacher reads the story to you.



OLIVER ASKS FOR MORE

Oliver was even less happy in the workhouse than he had been with Mrs Mann. He now had to work, which made him even hungrier. He was only given three meals of thin watery soup a day, with an onion twice a week and half a small loaf of bread on Sundays.

The room in which the boys were fed was a large stone hall. At one end a servant stood and helped by one or two women, served the soup at meal times from a large pot. Each boy had one small bowl and no more. The bowls never needed washing. The boys polished them with their spoons till they shone. When they had done this, which never took very long, they would sit staring with wide eyes at the pot, as if they could have eaten even the metal of which it was made. They would also suck their fingers most carefully to catch any splashes of soup that might have fallen on them.

Oliver Twist and his companions suffered the pains of slow starvation for three months. At last they got so wild with hunger that one boy, who was tall for his age told the others that unless he had another bowl of soup daily, he was afraid he might eat the boy who slept next to him. He had a wild, hungry eye, and they fully believed him. A council was held and one boy was picked to walk up to the servant after supper and ask for more. The chosen boy was Oliver Twist.

The evening arrived and the boys took their places. The servant placed himself by the pot, his assistants stood behind him and the soup was served out. It soon disappeared. The boys whispered to each other and made signs at Oliver while his neighbours pushed him. Child though he was, his hunger gave him courage. He rose from the table and advanced towards the servant, bowl in hand.

"Please, sir, I want some more," he said.

The servant was a fat, healthy man but he turned very pale. He looked in astonishment on the small rebel for some seconds.

"What!" he said at length in a faint voice.

"Please, sir, I want some more."

The servant aimed a blow at Oliver's head with his wooden spoon, then seized him in his arms and cried aloud for help.

Mr Bumble rushed into the room and was told of Oliver's crime.

"Asked for more!" he exclaimed. "That boy will live to be hanged!"

Oliver was locked up at once. The workhouse officials discussed his case. As a result, a notice was next morning fixed outside of the gate, offering a reward of five pounds to anybody who would take Oliver Twist. In other words, five pounds and Oliver Twist would be given to any man or woman who wanted an apprentice to any trade or business.

Source: Charles Dickens - Oliver Twist

Instructions:

Answer the following questions to test your listening skills.

- 1.1 Who is the main character in this story?
(1)

- 1.2 Rearrange the events in the correct order: Write the correct number in the block. (1)

| | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1. | Oliver was locked up. | |
| 2. | He rose from the table and advanced to the servant. | |
| 3. | The chosen boy was Oliver Twist. | |
| 4. | Oliver asked for more food. | |

- 1.3 Explain why you think the boys did not get enough food.
(2)

- 1.4 Why did the bowls never need washing?
(1)

- 1.5 What plan did they make to get more food?
(1)

- 1.6 Explain what the effect was of Oliver's request for more food?
(2)

- 1.7 Explain how your life is different to Oliver's life.
(2)

TOTAL (10)